NATIONAL BIOGRAPHY

PURANDARADASA

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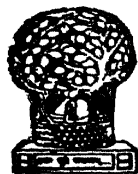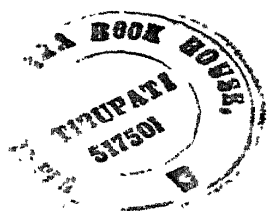
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I. INTRODUCTORY : TIME AND BACKGROUND

In India tradition of one kind or another has been continuous. Even a great breakaway from an old and accepted tradition and point of view declares that its attitude and doctrine are based on earlier seers' thought and practice. Almost every experiment here has been so made in Philosophy and Religion.

Among the systems which accept a supreme Godhead, there are roughly three kinds, the Saiva, the Vaishnava and the Sakta. The Sakta is not as widespread today as the other two. The history of Saiva and Vaishnava systems is current and continuous from the earliest times. Both claim validity and sanction from the *Vedas*.

Both these systems of faith and behaviour have been current in Karnataka through the ages. Efforts have been made to smooth the relations between the two and reconcile differences in theory and practice and in social relationships Castes have been no bar. Karnataka has offered some of the best examples of each kind.

About the twelfth century they burst into a new type of bloom in what are called the Bhakti schools. A Virasaiva movement gathered strength and vitality under the leadership of Basavesvara in Kalyan (in the Bidar district). It was a popular, democratic, reformist and protestant movement open to men and women alike; to all classes and professions, abolishing distinctions between man and man and man and woman and accepted God Siva as father and Parvati (Sakti) as mother as the only deities. Essentially it tried to simplify religious practices and promised oneness with Siva, if persons approached Him in

Bhakti living a life of total devotion. Among its saints were men who stressed the life of activity or knowledge or Vairagya (non-attachment); but Bhakti was the preponderating element in the faith. If Bhakti was true and deep, Siva's response was sure and his 'Prasada' or, grace could be obtained. The Virasaivas used the spoken Kannada language for communication and expressed themselves in what is called the Vachana

The Vaishnava movement has drawn from the Bhagavata and the Pancharatra Agamas and in its Avatara Kathas in turn the legends connected with Krishna and Rama have poured in treasure. The heroes of many Vaishnava Puranas had been leading-lights and exemplars Narada, Bhishma and Krishna play a very important part in the growth of the Vaishnava movement. The Vishnu Puranas supply the world of reference as the Saiva Puranas do in Saivism. The Vaishnava movement drawn also from the *Bhagavadgita* and forms part of the movements in Bengal, Orissa, Mathura, Brindavan and Dwaraka in the north. Into this the episode of Radha and the Gopis is drawn, while the southern Vaishnavism supplies the history and quality of soul of the Azwars—those immersed in the love of God—celebrated in the 'Nalayira Prabandham' (4,000 poems). Their deities and sacred places are spread over the whole of India, North and South.

If the Vachanakaras led by Basavesvara spoke for the Saiva Bhakti movement, Ramanujacharya and Madhvacharya established two different kinds of the Vaishnava movement in the South Both of them set up seats of influence and propaganda in Karnataka. Ramanuja (c. 1100) had to leave Kanchi and Srirangam owing to persecution, to find peace and security in Melkote and Belur in Karnataka and a goodly population was converted to the Visishtadvaita school of thought. His Vaishnavism was open to

all. The old order of society based on caste was not of much importance to him; for, though both Bhakti and Prapatti were recognised, the grace of God secured through the mother of the Universe in total self-surrender by anyone would gain according to him the promised Moksha.

Madhvacharya belonged to a place near Udupi and was very early distinguished as a prodigy of learning and vision. He changed over from an Advaita persuasion. His studies of the *Vedas* and the *Upanishads* and the *Brahma Sutras* offered scope to make their teaching less abstract, less arid and intellectual and less awesome than the Metaphysics of the Shankarites. The common people needed something tangible to love and be loyal and devoted to; something which they could live with in their daily lives and feel human. They could not accept the Nirguna Brahmavada of Shankara nor the doctrine of the identity of Atma and Brahma. Already Ramanuja had popularised the primacy of Narayana and the idea of the kripa (grace) of God had taken hold of the affections of the people. It let in one group of thinkers to modify further Ramanuja's concept of God head and the nature of the relationship between the individual soul and God.

Madhvacharya described Hari—or Vishnu—as the supreme, absolute God compared with whom the status of all things else was subordinate and different. Even in the final Moksha stage he did not concede any kind of unity with God for the individual soul. The concept that the entire Cosmos was the body of the Lord (the Sesha Seshibhava) and the coil and hood of the serpent concept which Ramanuja accepted—was not accepted by Madhva and the total relationship between the best living creature and the highest was that between a Master and a Servant. The Master's Prasada has to be worked for through Karma, Jnana and Vairagya; and through Bhakti which comes

as a result of this. The initiation has to be through a Guru who will qualify the individual to accept this relationship between the Bhakta and God.

Madhvacharya was intellectually a giant. Udupi, which was a seat of learning for a long time past and a centre of Saiva influence, became a centre of the new doctrine. The temple of Sri Krishna which he established with an idol which he seems to have got near Malpe in an incoming ship from Gujarat (Dwaraka) enabled him to make Udupi a ruling centre for the new manner of life and thought.[1]

The Bhakti movement makes a direct appeal to the hearts of men and women. The worship of young Krishna at Udupi naturally cherished and propagated all the legends current about Krishna in the North and South, not so much as he of the *Mahabharata* but of the *Bhagavata* and of the *Harivamsa*. Neither of these, however, mentions Radha anywhere, with the result that episodes connected with her and Krishna do not appear very much in the Madhva and Haridasa Sampradaya.[2] A succession of brilliant disciples spread the Madhva movement over Karnataka.

Among the leaders of the movement were Jayatirtha who belonged to some place near Pandharpur and Sripadaraya (1422-1480) of Mulbagal. These two men rendered two different types of service to the movement. Jayatirtha was able more fully to establish the thought and the doctrine of the Dvaita Acharya and came to be known as Tikacharya in Samskrit

Sripadaraya was the most important name in the

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[1] He is almost the first writer of the Haridasa type of songs in Kannada, the language of the people in this part of the country. Some two or three songs of his are current they say.

[2] The Radhapanthins developed different modalities of Bhakti outside Karnataka.

early history of the Haridasa movement. The influence spread over not only in the Malnad areas of the present Mysore State, but also got affiliations with Pandharpur in the far north in the modern Maharashtra district of Sholapur.

All about the country were people called the Aradhyas and Adyas well known and influential in the Ghat area in Mysore and in the northern tracts of Karnataka. One of the biggest names connected with Pandharpur was Pundarika Vitthala. The worship of Vitthala got added to the worship of Krishna at Udupi 'Vittha' or 'Vitthala' is an alternative form of Vishnu and the image of Vitthala and worship of Vitthala is a cherished possession of some of the sub-mathas of the Madhva Panth in the Malnad and the coastal areas of Karnataka. For over centuries, Pandharpur was a seat of Vitthala influence and it gained further importance during the days of Praudhadevaraya and Krishnadevaraya of the Vijayanagar Empire until the Vijayanagar kings desired to establish a Vitthala temple in Hampe itself.[1] This worship of Vitthala is important in the history of the Haridasa movement, because all the saint-singers add Vitthala to particular names by which they are distinguished. Many devoted saints and singers of Maharashtra were fond of Vitthala or Vitthoba at Pandharpur called the Kanadi god. Affection for that god filled their lives with light and joy. Pandharpur—or Pandarige as it is called in Kannada inscriptions—became as sacred as Varanasi in the North. Its popularity spread in western Karnataka and many household names of men became Vitthala in and round about the Sringeri and Tirthahali area. Madhvacharya himself seems to have

[1]There are legends that the Vitthala image was taken over from Pandharpur to Hampe, and, again somehow, sometime someone took it back to Pandharpur.

made a gift of the Vitthala image to a few of his associate mathas like Sirur, Puttige and to the Subrahmanya mathas all of which vouch for the fact that it was not alone the Advaitins and the Bhagavatas of the Maharashtra country who were devotees there but those also of the Dvaita School of Vaishnavism that got into popularity and importance at Pandharpur.

After the passing away of Narahari Tirtha (c. 1331) until the time of Sripadaraya which covers a period of over a century, not much is heard of the leaders of this movement Sripadaraya was a powerful savant and exercised influence over Saluva Narasimha holding court in Chandragiri on the way from Mulbagal to Tirupati—a king who fought many a successful battle against the enemies of the Vijayanagar kingdom and established fame and name for himself without rendering obedient service to the Vijayanagar kings; because he felt they let the priests and officers of the Tirupati temple be lawless and unbridled, becoming themselves puppets in their hands. The learning, saintliness and wisdom of Sripadaraya made him a great influence. When the Saluva kings succeeded the Sangam dynasty in Vijayanagar and when the Taulava dynasty succeeded the Saluva there Sripadaraya extended his influence to it. And Vyasaraya, a great disciple of his, became not only a great religious influence but also the powerful Rajaguru of Krishnadevaraya in the heyday of its opulence and power. Krishnadevaraya became king about 1509 and Vyasaraya seems to have helped the king out on an occasion called the 'Kuhuyoga' (8-1-1521), a conjuncture of planets which boded death and destruction to the king. He occupied the throne for a few days and when the evil constellation passed he handed back the kingdom to the king.

Vyasaraya was a Madhva Pontiff round whom gathered

a large number of disciples and devotees of the Vishnu cult. It is into his ambit of influence that one Srinivasa Nāyaka comes to be accepted as a disciple. He was converted from being perhaps a Bhagavata into the Madhva Vaishnavism and given the *nom de plume* Purandara Vitthala to be used as a signature (Ankita) in all his utterances thereafter. Neither Narahari Tirtha nor Vyasaraya added the name Vitthala to his name[1]; the devotion to Vitthala of the person who came to be known as Purandaradasa was the distinguishing point for the series of servants of God who came to be known as Haridasas from that time on.

Some time was however taken for the Haridasas to be accepted as equal in merit and status to the men learned in Samskrit and the Sastras—the *Vedas*, the *Upanishads*, the *Brahma Sutras*, etc.—the philosophical doctrines of Madhva Vedanta and all the ancillary disciplines connected therewith. That group is called the Vyasakuta which considered itself superior to the Dasakuta. They attached greater importance to Samskrit learning, while the Dasas spoke and wrote in Kannada, then called 'Prakrit' or 'Desi'. All the weight, influence and authority which Vyasaraya could exercise was thrown in to raise the contribution of a person like Purandara into equal worth with the teachings in Samskrit when he designated this work as 'Purandaropanishad'. Only because of the Guru's presence and word—not by conviction or willing acceptance was this acquiesced in. This will give roughly an idea of what had happened at the time of Purandaradasa's advent into the cultural and religious life in Hampe, the capital of Vijayanagar kingdom. The acceptance by Vyasaraya of a person

[1]Only Sripadaraya has Ranga Vitthala as a signature. The Haridasa prayer begins with his name.

who was called Srinivasa Nayaka into the Madhva faith and his songs in Kannada as great and valuable, equal in worth to what had been said in the ancient scriptures, marked the new movement and launched into public esteem and acceptance the Dasapantha and the Dasara Padas.

We may now trace back the story of Purandaradasa's life from its beginning up to this period to see how it developed in quality, worth and status. We have precious little authentic information except what can be eked out by legends and hearsay evidence, as is indicated in the next section.

II. EARLY LIFE

ANY BIOGRAPHY OF Purandaradasa acceptable as factual and realistic in a modern time is almost impossible since definitive, incontestable evidence about him is lacking. Practically all information about him is in question : the place of his nativity, the year and date of his birth and death, his name, the name of his wife, the number of children he had, the day and year on which he received initiation, etc. We have next to no knowledge except minor details and a miracle or two of how exactly he sang or wrote the songs ascribed to him; who took them down; which among the songs is earlier or later and connected with what events in his life There are many spurious pieces of composition with his signature; even as many are deemed to be and sung as his which are traceable to others : wife, son, daughter, pupil, servant, etc. That he lived long,—some 80 years—that about his middle years, at about 40 or 45, he came to Hampe seeking discipleship of Vyasaraya and was accepted are generally known. He travelled over the length and breadth of India singing the praises of Hari, worshipped in various forms everywhere, met many sorts of men and responded to daily events and personalities and spoke to them kindly or in admonition, came back to Hampe, settled into a place which later came to be known as 'Purandara Mantapa' and passed away on the Amavasya day of Pushya in the year Raktakshi,—is roughly what can be said of him. Whether the date of his demise is in the year 1564 or 1565 and the day is Saturday, Sunday or Tuesday has raised a discussion. We have to fall back upon legends connected with him about many things said to have

happened to him and he did.

The most authoritative and almost the only secular evidence we have is the Kamalapur Inscription of the year 1526 in which three sons of Purandara Vitthala[1] are given pieces of land and property as part of the gifts of land which Vyasaraya had received from the ruling king Krishnadevaraya (kingship 1509-29/30). The name of one son, Madhvapati, is recognisable. The two other names do not correspond with the ones considered genuine in the tradition. An additional piece of information contained in the Inscription is that the legal name of the father of these sons is Purandara Vitthala and that they belong to Vasistha Gotra and the Yajus Sakha. No land is given to the father himself Being a Haridasa he would not accept any property as gift. That the Dasa name attached to the sons also shows they were grown up and followed the father. If according to tradition he was father of four sons and a daughter—and one son, perhaps the youngest, was no more—the eldest could be presumed to be about 25 years of age by that time. If this year is 1526 and Madhvapati was 25 or 26, Purandara's date could be taken back another 20 years. 1480 roughly—or 1484 as some others put it—seems to be the year of his birth.

By this time Purandaradasa had been accepted as a disciple of Vyasaraya. Vyasaraya was Rajaguru and the 'Kuhuyoga' had passed over. The master had been reigning in intellectual and spiritual glory attested by his victory over many learned men in Kasi and Brindavan. About him was Vadiraja as a disciple. A tank by the name of Vyasasamudra had been built in his name. Srinivasa Nayak later known as Purandaradasa must have come to Hampe some-

[1]The three names in the Inscription are: Lakshmanadasa, Hebanadasa and Madhvapadasa. Those in the tradition are : Varada, Gururaya, Abhinava Purandara and Madhvapati.

where about the early 'twenties of the 16th century. He was rich in the knowledge of men and things and fully desirous of the change in his life which the initiation into the Madhva doctrine and the acceptance of Dasahood under the imprimatur of Vyasaraya brought him. It must have taken him some time to get established among the learned and the orthodox ones of the place.

What had happened to him till then is a matter for conjecture. He had come to Hampe. it is said, under a spiritual direction that he should go there and seek guidance from Vyasaraya. That incident is ascribed to a period in his life when he was in Pandharpur. It is not known how or wherefrom he had gone to Pandharpur. One account speaks of his having been there for about 12 years. Whether he went to Pandharpur from a place outside Karnataka or nearabouts that town or from the Ghat area of the modern district of Shimoga lying between Udupi and the plain country in the East is not certain. The legend that he belonged to Purandaragadh near Poona and that he carried on flourishing business as a jeweller and moneylender there is not borne out either by the geographical position of the place, the linguistic or social affiliations of the people there, the folk-lore or other associations and anecdotes, the idiom of the language that he uses, or by the tradition of singing which he uses in his composition—which is totally Southern, i e., Karnataki Purandargadh came into prominence as a hill-fort in the days of Shivaji later in the 17th century and has throughout been inhabited by people who speak Mahrati only. Religious or cultural associations seem to be conspicuous by their absence there. His plying a profitable 'Saraff' business there is also unlikely. A person who was so illustrious as to be known in the wealthy Vijayanagar kingdom and Bijapur dealing with kings and nobles as lender of large sums of money, who could test and

properly assess the value of precious stones could not have been totally unknown to the Mahrata people. A later Dasa who came more than a hundred years after him (Vijayadasa) relates him to that place picking up some loose ascription of name to Purandaragadh and a person with Ankita as Gurupurandara builds fantastic legends about it all.

There are other versions which say that his place was Purandaraghatta or Purandaralaya or Pakasasanapura which seems to lead to a Ghat home-town A shrewd guess is made by an elderly researcher[1]—that it may be a place called Purandara, a village in Araga, Tirthahalli Taluk, which used to be a famous trade and commerce centre with a large Jain population, with many Brahmin homes having 'Nayak' as name; famous for men known for learning and devotion like the Adyas At least one person in the Inscriptions figures for his 'Bharata sastravisaravit Somanathatmajo Mayi Bhatta'—about 1464. This was where the cult of Panduranga was current and lay between Udupi to west and Pandharpur in the north-east The only point against this town would be the idiom and the language used by him in his compositions—but his use of Siyala for a tender coconut and ragi etc will connect him with it. It can be got over by his contact with men in Bijapur and Sholapur by his moving freely about Pandharpur and in Hampe for quite a length of time. Or, he might be living for some time in a town near Pandarige itself.

There are at least three names by which Purandaradasa is known : Srinivasa Nayaka, Krishna Nayaka and Purandara Vitthala. The last one does not even accept the name of the father of Srinivasa but calls him Vitthala. Purandara is the name given to the boy and therefore Purandara Vitthala is—almost according to international usage—made natural and correct. But it makes the whole tradition wrong

[1] Sri Krishna Rao Kapatral.

and sounds too naive. Krishna Nayaka is also not supported by many. The generally accepted name is Srinivasa Nayaka, son of Varadappa Nayaka. He inherited a banking business and trade in jewellery and diamonds from his father. It was an orthodox Brahmin family but the profession makes father and son money-minded and grasping. The young man must have been well-educated and conversant with the religious life and tradition of his home and people and with music For without some knowledge and training in it one cannot expect knowledge and familiarity with musical compositions to burst suddenly at 30-40 years in age. The young man was married to a Saraswati Bai—there are other names also by which she is known—who came from a highly cultured family and whose piety must have been a source of great comfort and help to him in life.

Srinivasa succeeded to his father's trade He took to trade completely and soon became so rapt in it that he amassed great wealth to the neglect of all the virtues that should mark a person educated and well brought up. Even the ordinary claims of humanity seem not to have weighed with him He is reputed to have gone to the Vijayanagar capital a number of times selling diamonds and precious stones and being known to the tallest men at Hampe as 'Navakoti Narayana'. The wife must have felt the misery of having to see how her husband became a byword for miserliness daily becoming more insensitive to human considerations and how people talked about him as hard of heart. Her devotion to religion and the love of God inherited from her family must have been hurt though in her devotion to her husband she did not stint.

It so happened—so the legend and a record by a later Dasa puts it—that once an old Brahmin went daily with his boy to Srinivasa Nayaka begging aid from him for the boy's Upanayana and would not take indirect expressions

of 'Nothing doing' from the rich merchant. The merchant himself was vexed with the old man who would not understand his unwillingness to give him aid. When after six months of weary waiting the old man finally asked if he would give him anything at all Srinivasa said in disgust that the old man could take one or two coins from out of a bag which contained worn out, uncurrent coins and get away, the old man saw the futility of further waiting in expectation of help. Taking a single coin he went away from the shop.

He went to Srinivasa Nayaka's home and without telling the lady of the house that he had gone to her husband's shop begged her as a pious and charitable woman to be of help to a Brahmin to perform the Upanayaṇa of his son. The sight of the uncurrent coin which a merchant gave him as donation must have saddened her. She could understand that the old man's story referred to her own husband. She had no money of her own to give and when she expressed her helplessness in providing it, the old man cleverly pointed to the nose-ring Saraswati Bai was wearing—other versions call it the nosescrew or the earstud—and said that if in her benevolence she could make a gift of it, it would meet his needs. That was a way out indeed—she perhaps thought also that this may compensate for her husband's lack of compassion. She handed it over to him. The Brahmin felt happy.

The old man then did an extraordinary thing. He went straight back to Srinivasa Nayaka's shop and asked him for the price of the same jewel in money. The Nayaka was surprised and intrigued. The jewel was exactly like the one worn by his wife and he wanted to ascertain the truth. So he asked the old man to call again for the money and himself locked up the jewel in his safe, went to his house and seeing that his wife did not wear the jewel asked her to

produce it. The wife knew what was coming. The husband in his mood that day did not seem to be kindly or understanding or as one who would accept the event tamely and quietly. Fearing dire consequences she said she would fetch it, got into the room of worship, decided to take poison and kill herself. Hers was an act of piety and she would not regret the gift she had made to a Brahmin; and, there could be no escaping the wrath of a husband like hers in his present mood Just when she was about to drink the poisoned holy water—the 'Tirtha'—O Joy!—she saw the jewel in it A amiracle if ever there was one! She offered her Pranams to God, came out with the jewel and handed it over to her husband.

The sight of it bowled out Srinivasa Nayaka. He could not explain how the very same jewel which the old man had brought to him and which he had locked up in his shop safe just a little while ago could appear here so! He hastened back to the shop, opened the safe, to find that the jewel was missing. Something extraordinary had certainly happened in this regard. The old man was certainly no mortal. But he was nowhere about.

He closed the shop, returned home and asked the wife to narrate to him all that had happened. It was in a different mood he had come back now. The wife did it truly and touchingly. He knew the depth and intensity of his wife's piety. Many must have been the occasions when she had appealed to him to think of God and man, a little more humanly, a little more helpfully. This incident was really a miracle—an act of God to remind him of what he was missing in life and what he should do. He seems to have wandered like mad all about the town asking everyone if they had seen the old man with a boy. No, he had not been seen by anybody; nor did anybody know what had happened to him. Someone said that he went into the

Vitthala temple. Which Vitthala and where is not the point. Srinivasa Nayaka felt now that it was really an act of God. His heart opened out. The closeness and grasping mentality that had grown in him all this time melted. His wife was happy at the remorse—and it is with such remorse that a true religious life begins—and told him that their life should be lived more worthily as befitted one of their family, education and culture He saw how near he was to losing his wife and how the old man's act had saved her and him. He would give anything if he could meet the old man. The wife seems to have told him that in her dream the old man appeared to say that if the Nayaka threw away his wealth and dedicated himself to the service of the Lord he could easily have sight of Him A decisive moment came in his life. He gave up his wealth,—house, belongings, money, jewellery,—distributed them among pious people in the name of Lord Vitthala, took a vow of poverty and went out of his house From that day on he would beg alms from people for the day's sustenance and go about singing the praises of the Lord.

It is interesting to go into the mind of Purandaradasa when he gave up his possessions on a realisation that as long as he kept attached to property and home he could not be free. His business and his wealth had kept him so long from thoughts of and loyalty to the greater life; in pursuit of wealth and profit he had forgotten he was a human being with a wife and children owing duty to society. When he realised that the old man was able to influence his wife to an act of piety and charity and renunciation of type in a moment while for six months his own hard heart had not yielded a small donation and when his wife was prepared to die rather than be exposed to his anger all on account of an act of humanity he felt that he had been saved from being the cause of the death of his

wife who was pious and large-hearted. The enormity of what he had done in sending the old man away and in demanding the jewel from his wife troubled his conscience and made him feel that what he had done was wrong.

Srinivasa Nayaka took everything with singleness of mind That is how he had taken to the accumulation of wealth which had not given him peace or rest and no freedom from passion. The present incident threw him as passionately into the other mood : a mood of remorse and expiation. He was grateful to his wife who released this new spring of emotion and purpose and change of direction. All his pent-up feeling came out in the famous song :

'Adaddella olite ayitu, namma Sridharana
Seve madalu sadhana sampattayıtu'.[1]

'Whatever happened has happened for good and has become a fruitful means to the service of our Lord Sridhara.' He was formerly disinclined to carry the *Dandige* (staff) and *Tambura* from which he had shied off. 'May the like of this wife be thousands She has made me take to the Tambura and the staff' His pride used to be royal and would not let him carry the beggar's bowl She has made him carry the bag of alms He would not wear the garland of Tulası beads, the lotus-eyed Purandara Vitthala has made him wear the Tulasi beads. The wife's affection and largeness of heart achieved this also for him. When he moved out the decision was absolute;—there was no turning back Even as he asked for everything formerly he would live hereafter without owning anything. Then it was a master's life; now it would be a servant's.

It is said that when they were moving about either from his home-town towards Pandharpur—or from Pandharpur to Hampe and had to pass through a forest and lonesome

[1]"ग्रादद्देल्ला ग्रोलिते ग्रायितु, नम्म श्रीधरन
सेवे माड़लु साधन सपत्तायितु"—

distances, the wife as she followed him is said to have been heavier of foot and dragging looking about this way and that in anxiety, rather frequently Was something the matter with her? Purandara asked her why it was so. She said she was afraid of robbers on the way. The husband asked her if she carried any valuables with her so to be afraid of robbers. He learnt that Saraswati Bai was carrying with her a gold cup to serve some need of the husband later. He asked her to throw it away and move forward lighter of foot. She was cause of his renunciation and it would be less than herself to carry a small toy-a gaud like that. Many incidents like these are narrated. But they help to build the picture of a life and character as it was a-making here, particularly when it was changing direction and purpose. All the intensity of his life was thrown into this new life;—its mode and its tasks. Being endowed with a rich imagination the feelings inside him must have urged him to give them expression. He knew music and was possibly conversant with the tradition of the Bhaktas and their songs. Some such songs must have been sung by the members of his family daily and all about him in his home-town and elsewhere. The literature of the Virasaiva Vachanakaras and the outpourings of the Adyas and Aradhyas must have been known to him. It was actually the cultural heritage.

What he did immediately after that is not known. One account says that he went to Pandharpur and remained there for 12 years. One day, it is said, a call came to him in his dream that he might go to Hampe and seek the directions and blessing of Vyasaraya, the ruling pontiff of the Madhva Religion and the Rajaguru in Krishnadevaraya's court. It is said that he went there with his wife and children. This is the tradition and so will be anywhere between 1520 and 1525, nearer abouts the latter year. He must have

heard about Vyasaraya on earlier occasions when he visited Hampe in the days of his affluence but had not met him. He now went straight to Vyasaraya, offered obeisance to him and narrated the incidents in his life which led up to his going there. Immediately Vyasaraya recognised the quality of his soul and accepted him. He was initiated into the tenets of the Madhva Religion and the Guru spoke to him of the features and terms of Bhakti in a Haridasa life.

Srinivasa Nayaka should have thought long and deep of God and spiritual life and from the time of his change in life may have been singing the praises of God Vitthala. —Now a sharper definition of Bhakti was given to him and he was asked to call himself Purandara Vitthala from that day forward, making that the signature, of all his songs thereafter. One song—in what is called the Suladi form—describes the feeling of blessedness that came to him when the grace of the Guru opened out to him:

"Vyasarayara charanakamala darusanvenage
Esu janmada sukruta phala dorakitu, enna
Sasira kulakoti pavannavayitu
Srisanna bhajisuvudakadhikari nanade
Dosharahitanada Purandara Vitthalana
Dasara karuna enna mele iralagi"[1]

the feeling was that he received the fulfilment of many births and that all his ancestors were redeemed and he was qualified to offer worship to the Lord of Lakshmi; for now

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[1]"व्यासरायर चरणकमल दरुशनवेनगे
ऐसु जन्मद सुकृत फल दोरकितु एन्न
सासिर कुलकोटि पावन्नवायितु
श्रीशन भजिसुवुदकधिकारि नानादे
दोषरहितनाद पुरंदर विट्ठलन
दासर करुण एन्न मेले इरलागि"

the kindliness of the servants of Purandara Vitthala was vouchsafed to him. This was acceptance by the Guru. He realises another point specially that the knowledge not received through the Guru, the Yoga not taught or action not enjoined by the Guru are like the fasting of a serpent. Guru Vyasaraya very kindly favoured him with the great mantras which speak of Purandara Vitthala as the supreme Lord of the Universe and all fears were cast off. He was given a distinctive name and the initiation was marked by the discus symbol of Hari being burnt on his arms. The Guru said that a body without such symbol was profane; action without it does not show up and he was given the *nom de plume*. The song gives further details of the Guru's eminence 'Nyayamrita', 'Tarka Tandava' and 'Chandrika' are Vyasaraya's works on Logic and Philosophy. That he was able to seal off into silence the mouths of 21 commentators like the advocates of Maya and to establish himself as leader among the devotees of Purandara Vitthala through the grace of Madhvaraya; that he was inspired by Sesha and was an incarnation of Prahlada. He proclaimed the name of Vyasaraya as the person who removed the evil effects of the 'Kuhuyoga' on the king of the country and verily sat on the throne during that time. The king had got constructed a lake 'Vyasabdhi'. Other details of Vyasaraya's life also mentioned here are that Vyasaraya learnt from Sripadaraya the great Narayanayogi; that he secured as pupils Vijayindra and Vadiraja both of whom were illustrious philosophers, scholars and saints; that his was the philosophical system preached by Madhvacharya as based upon the Brahma Sutras; that the Guru had defeated the famous Gadadhara Misra of Banaras and won over 108 scholars like Kasimitra, Pakshadhara, Vajapeya, Narasimha Yogi, Linganna Misra and others and got a charter of victory over them all

declaring that Srisa Hari is the supreme Lord; that he was a direct disciple of Brahmanya Tirtha and could therefore be a Guru of Gurus—with Purandara Vitthala as the highest Guru of all. 'The feet of Guru Vyasaraya are my seat of rest,' says Purandara. I have been able to understand the greatness of Purandara Vitthala from him. This song establishes fully the nature of the beneficence that came into his life when Vyasaraya accepted him as a disciple All doubts were cleared in his mind and he could seek and find in the Master wisdom and solace needed in the pursuit of the new course of life on which he was launched.

In the new-found urgency of his spirit he burst into song off and on. Naturally the songs must have dealt with the needs and aspirations of his heart as of the life lived by people whose hearts are closed against God and of how they have to be liberated There are the hardships and transitions of the change-over. The past had to be given up and new modes had to be acquired for the new type of fulfilment. When Vyasaraya initiated him into the Haridasa life he plunged into the new mode and soon became positive in the expression of this enlightenment and purpose. Vyasaraya himself had been composing songs with Sri Krishna as signature even as his Guru Sripadaraya did his with Ranga Vitthala as his signature. The type of song was familiar and with his rich powers of imagination and expression Srinivasa Nayaka now found himself able to compose songs freely under the new name Purandara Vitthala.[1] With Purandaradasa, the Dasapantha, almost definitely, sprang into existence, though in tracing the history of the movement credit for the type of composition

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[1]Sripadaraya and Vyasaraya could not strictly be called Dasas because they were chiefs of Madhva Mathas.

and attitude, etc., naturally goes back to Sripadaraya and Vyasaraya.[1]

There was a group of learned persons round about Vyasaraya taken up with the tenets of the Madhva Religion. The scholars knew all the Sastras. They were familiar with the *Bhagavata Sampradaya* and they studied the *Mahabhagavata* (which for the first time had been accepted as a book of authority by Madhvacharya), the Krishna worship being speciality associated with the new movement. Much of the work round about the Vyasakuta was high, scholarly and intellectual. Though Sripadaraya and Vyasaraya had written and familiarised some songs in Kannada for the benefit of common men so as to speak to the masses more intimately, the Vyasakuta people at first would not have much or any traffic at all with the Dasa Group. The chief had to make-them accept it. This new accession to their school had therefore to come about almost against the opposition of some narrow-minded men among the scholars. But so true, so persuasive was the experience and utterance of Purandara Dasa, so clean and so full of greatness was his soul and so near to the doctrines of the Vedas and the Upanishads that his songs were irresistible. That a very wealthy man who had traffick only with the richest, bravest and best, with kings and noblemen of the entire country, one who had given up all his riches and position and had been converted into living a godly life, was daily going in the streets of Hampe singing such songs, raising alms from whoever gave was more than an argument to persuade with. The Guru was able to show his Vyasakuta disciples that Purandara was a true dasa

[1]Earlier names like Acalananda are not taken up here since songs ascribed to him as belonging to an earlier-than-10th century do not come off for language or matter. Only Narahari Tirtha who was a direct disciple of Sri Madhva is just credited with a few songs.

and that his songs and utterances were no less valid, forceful and revelatory of true wisdom and Vaishnava thought than what was contained in the *Sastras*, the *Puranas* and the *Vedas*; so that what he said or wrote was equal in worth to them. At first they were incensed; but gradually they could see that the Samskrit works spoke in a language remote and difficult and were hard of grasping for common men. What Purandara said was simple, direct and easy, richly laden with the same wealth of matter that was in the sacred works in a more easily intelligible and available form than they could give to the masses Soon, under the aegis of the Guru it came to be called Purandaropanished.

Purandaradasa realises that the knowledge, the path, the meditation, the repetition of God's name, the Tapas, Mantra and Tantra, not received from the Guru are false. 'Guru Vyasaraya has favoured me'—he says—with the message 'that Purandara Vitthala is the supreme God' and has removed from me all fear of sin and breathed into my ears the great Mantra. Possibly Srinivasa Nayaka says here: that from an earlier Bhagavata affiliation which accepted Hari and Hara as equal with no religious superiority between them he was taken over into the acceptance of the uncompromising monotheism of Madhva[1] which speaks of the difference between them, between God and Jiva, Jiva and Jada, Jada and Jada and Jada and Deva

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[1]श्रीमन्मध्वमते हरिः परतरः सत्यं जगत्तत्वतो
भेदो जीवगणा हरेरनुचरा नीचोच्चभाव गताः
मुक्तिर्नैजसुखानुभूतिरमला भक्तिश्च तत्साधनम्
ह्यक्षदित्रितय प्रमाणमाखिलाम्नायैकवेद्यो हरिः

[1]"Sriman Madhvamate Harih paratarah; Satyam Jagattattvato;
Bhedo Jivagana; Hareranucara nicoccabhava gatah;
Muktir naija sukhanubhutiramala bhaktisca tat sadhanam;
Hyakshaditritayam pramanamakhilamnayaikavedyo Harih—"

and the entire distinctions in level that exist between the several creatures and the orders among them.[1]

A sense of blessedness comes to him. He has gained the company of the Haridasas 'What else is needed?—(Innenu, Innenu?)—The illusoriness of the cycle of birth and death and self-love has abated and on my tongue has the name of the Lord taken position. What else is needed?' This is the sort of liberation and certitude of mind that has come to him; and with this Purandaradasa begins the life of the Dasa.

The realisation also comes to him that without and until surrender to the Guru—the word Dasa actually means "becomes a slave of"—Gulamanaguva varegu (/tanaka)—or by a variant version "gained the love of"—no salvation can be got. His devotion has been futile so far in spite of the knowledge of various Sastras The study of the Sastras or the study of the 18 Puranas and the listening to all the stories of the saints or expounding them is of no avail until the Guru's grace illumines the secret. It is this that affirms the acceptance Hereafter Purandaradasa is a total follower of the dualistic religion of Madhvacharya and all the legends connected with him, including the one which says that Madhvacharya is in his age an incarnation of Hanuman and Bhima. The other stories become also current in his consciousness gradually that Vyasaraya is the incarnation of Prahlada. There is a whole calendar of saints whose life and history act as exemplars. Kari, Dhruva, Bali, Prahlada, Panchali, Ahalya, Bhishma, Vibhishana, Rukmangada, Girija, Ajamila—are examples to enforce a point. Four or five among them have been special. Narada

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[1]A Suladi utterance says that a body without imprint of the Vishnu symbol is unacceptable. That a poem does not distinguish itself without the signature here—the gift to him from his Guru—which gave him definiteness of personality.

sowed the seeds of the Harinama. With Dhruvaraja it sprouted and with Prahlada it broke into shoot; from Rukmangada it put forth leaf-ends, wore its blossoms in Bhishma; put out berries in Draupadi; in Gajendra the berry became half-ripe fruit; with Sukamuni it ripened into full fruit. The one who ate the fruit and was salvaged was Ajamila.

To the system of creation through the powers possessed by the supreme God and the way He orders the Universe and the process by which elements expanded, all the followers have strictly to conform.

One thing that distinguishes the Madhva form from the Ramanuja form of Vaishnavism is that it is not enough if the devotee offers himself to God in total devotion, surrendering his all (Prapatti). The difference between the individual soul and God is absolute both on earth and in heaven in Madhvism.[1] It is more strenuous here, because all the rules and regulations in the community through the caste system are accepted and Karma has sway; Vairagya should direct it and the attitude—Jnana must teach Discrimination and Bhakti have to go hand in hand with Jnana :

"Mahatmya Jnanapurvastu Sudridhah Sarvatodhikah
Sneho Bhaktiritiproktah taya muktih nachanyathai"[2]

are the words of the great Acharya. The friendship which is firmly and in the best way derived from the understanding of the greatness of the supreme Lord can alone be called Bhakti. Mukti can be attained only through Bhakti and by no other means. Quite a number of elements are distinguish-

[1]The Arul of the Lord (grace) is enough there and it is Ahaituki, like in the Upanishad saying—'Yamaivesha Vrnute tena labhyah and kindlier'.

[2]"माहात्म्य ज्ञानपूर्वंस्तु सुधृढ़ाः सर्वतो अधिकाः
स्नेहो भक्तिरितिप्रोक्ततः तया मुक्तिः नचचान्यथा"

ed in the devotee's understanding and realisation of this greatness of the Lord; this firm friendliness established through Bhakti is described as having nine forms[1] all of which are detailed.

Though the deity is Vishnu or Hari and all the incarnations[2] are accepted and the greatness, e g , of the Ramavatara is recognised, the incarnation most beloved of the Haridasa's is Krishna's and in the Krishna form it is not the features of the epic Krishna of the *Mahabharata* but of the *Bhagavata* His is a fairly awesome personality in the epic. One approaches him with due regard for his warrior and counsellor quality and as the encompasser of things; he is there not so much accessible to all, the high and the low—men and women, and the widest commonalty such as is needed for the Bhaktas' need of looking at and doing things. In adopting Krishna as the favourite God the Haridasas became extremely fond of young Krishna and the stories connected with his life in Mathura. They celebrate the affection that prevailed between him and his foster-mother and the womenfolk of different ages in Vraja—full of colour and playfulness.

Any playfulness described becomes dear to them and at his worst pranks they just mildly remonstrate. No one seems to forbid him liberties; for to them as to all the Krishna Bhaktas loyalty and devotion to Krishna is the highest conduct; a transvaluation of all other values. The

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[1]That Vyasaraya himself is the author of a number of the songs dealing with Madhura Bhakti is interesting. Whether the Dasa speaks of Rangayya or Vitthala, the name is just an alternative to Krishna.

[2]The Buddha which was not highly orthodox is accepted for social solidarity and cultural integration. A confusion between the Jina and the Buddha is occasionally indulged in representing the Buddha as naked; which is appropriately a feature of the Digambara Jain tradition. The Kalki advent is perhaps yet to come.

ordinary relations between father and son and husband and wife are suspended or superseded. Luckily we do not in all these stories and contexts get too much into the sensualism and the rawness that some other systems and some later people—Dasas among them—imported.

The several ways in which Krishna was to be approached expressed attitudes and emotivity. Five forms—the Pancha-Bhavas—are famous : Madhura, Vatsalya, Sakhya, Sevya and Shanta—indicating the several types of relationship that can exist between the devotee and the Lord in realising the love between them. Some of the most beautiful songs deal with mother-love and next only to it is the affection between the Gopis and Krishna with the song and the flute and the dance by which Krishna makes himself dear to all the womenfolk and to the younger among them who can't live without him or if they cannot see him for a day. They feel disconsolate when Uddhava or Akrura comes to fetch him away to Kamsa's court. Their love is tender to exquisiteness which makes the relationship lovable to the young of all ages.. The relation of friend to friend that can exist between God and the devotee is illustrated in the story, e.g , of Sudama and some stories connected with Narada a close way with Arjuna. That between servant and master is a bit more serious and when through proper discipline and ordering of one's life habits and action one learns to throw off all other attachments to life and the world and can think only of the greatness of the union with the Lord and can contemplate the supreme Lord distinguished for Sarvaguna Paripurnata He can get the Tadatmya with the Lord; learn his own place and offer his devotion to God on his terms in the status to which he is entitled or simply as granted. The songs of the Haridasas deal with many of these aspects. Many of the stories are known to people for a long time. And the transparent simplicity of the singer's

soul, the purity of the Dasa's life and disinterestedness, the overflowing love of the Lord on one side and for fellow-man on the other and the entrancing melody of the songs themselves make them dear to listeners.

Purandaradasa is permitted by Vyasaraya to go on a pilgrimage all over the country. He did that visiting places in Karnataka and, going all over the South and throughout the length and breadth of India, visiting sacred shrines and singing songs in adoration of the Lord.[1]

Among all places is the Dasa's love for Tirupati, as a more beautiful and more inspiring place, sanctified by memory and associating it from time immemorial with Vengadam as it figures in the songs of the Azwars as well as because Krishnadevaraya and Vyasaraya used to visit the place frequently. Purandara was often part of the company. The praise of Srinivasa or Venkataramana figures in many a song and it is said that Krishnadevaraya got built for him a Mantapam at which he could perform his daily prayers undisturbed by others.

There are one or two miracles connected therewith also. For on a day on which Purandara was treating a number of Bhaktas to lunch the supply of ghee seems to have fallen short; when he called to Appannadasa, his usual aide, to serve it that person was nowhere near about; someone served the guests all the ghee needed. Latter Appanna was called to account for delaying the service. Appanna said the stocks of ghee had run out and he did not supply the want. ...This was not the first time such a grace of God

[1]Even when the local deity is the subject-matter of the song, the tribute invariably is finally made to Hari or Vishnu whose seat is in the heart of that deity—'antargata'. For to Purandara, Hanuman's or Madhva's faith is faith and the Harisarvottamatva is the one point on which there can be no compromise. That is implied within the terms of conversion into the Dvaita faith.

had come to Purandara to assure him of His help in time of need. Way back, one or two incidents of a similar character seem to have happened in Pandharpur, where Vitthala and he are described as having exchanged courtesies One was an occasion when the Dasa called for water of Appanna, and he did not turn up immediately. Some one very like him brought water to him. The angry Dasa seems to have hit him on the head with the vessel for the delay. Since it was not Appanna who had supplied water but Vitthala Himself it would appear that day Vitthala wore a swelling on his head and tears were rolling down his eyes. Nothing anybody did could stop them. Purandara was appealed to and he seems to have gone inside the inner shrine, caressed his God, calling upon him to forgive him for his burst of bad temper. Immediately the swelling subsided and the torrent of tears ceased to flow from the eyes!

The second is the incident of Vitthala getting square with Purandara on this account. Purandara's name and cleanliness of soul, his love of God were known to all in Pandharpur even to the most beautiful public woman of the place. One night she was surprised to find the great Dasa favouring her with a visit and making her a gift of a valuable bracelet. That was a jewel worn by God Vitthala. She was happy to serve the Dasa though that was the surprise of her life. She was told she could expect the other one of the pair another day. Next morning the bracelet adorning God Vitthala was discovered missing A fruitless search was made, but when the woman went to the temple for her day's worship and she was seen wearing the jewel so like God's own suspicions were roused. For a while she held out and under torture she had to reveal that it was a gift to her from Purandara Dasa. This created a sensation. The Dasa was brought in, tied to a pillar and thrashed. The Dasa knew nothing about it. When a thorough hiding

was given a voice from within the shrine seems to have said that the Dasa was innocent and that he might be allowed to go. The Dasa realised that a joke had been played on him by his master Pandharinatha for the hit on his head. A very famous song is associated with this incident :

> "Muyyakke muyya tiritu
> Jagadayya vijaya sahaya Pandhariraya"[1]

'You are revenged on me for what I did to you, my Lord. I called to the little one to bring me water. And when I was given warm water and late, I got angry and blindly hit you on the head. You made a gift of the bracelet in my name to the public woman, making the world believe that I was guilty of theft, got me caught and made me appear guilty of disgraceful conduct Let it well be. I know no other God like you, either in reason or in affection; but need you not be helpful to your devotees as one in the position of a parent to them?' This song is, by some, considered to be authentic in support of the personal anecdotes in his life This incident is buttressed by the fact that to this day there is a pillar in the temple at Pandharpur which is called the Purandara Pillar[2] indicating that that was the pillar to which he was tied and thrashed

Stories like these are the favourites of the faithful and faith becomes the deeper the more incredible the incidents narrated. Secular right and wrong don't matter; real and supernatural are not distinguished; and what is worthy and unworthy is messed up. God is above right and wrong and He knows why and how. He desires to play with His devotees. That the devotee will understand and will accept

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[1] "मुय्यक्के मुय्य तीरितु
जगदय्य विजय सहाय पंढरिराय"

[2] A more plausible reason may be that he used to stand there for worship and later this became associated with the event in the song.

it in true faith and loyalty to Him is a premise in all such cases and it gets accepted in the tradition.

There is a beautiful Suladi by Purandaradasa which says :

> "Hariya ombattu bhaktiya balla dhira
> Marali samskrtiya darige huttibara.
> Durachara dushkritigalanu kandu sera
> Hiriyarolu birunudiya jihvege tara."[1]

The one who knows the nine varieties of Bhakti will not be born again to be subject to the cycle of birth and death; will have nothing to do with wrong conduct or evil acts and will not care to utter a single harsh word to the wise elders; he will continually be listening to the praises of Hari and will himself sing His praise; his mind is full of the memory only of His great deeds; His quality and His deeds in favour of the saints of all ages.

Practically all the songs of the Haridasas deal with this sort of life and dedication according to the injunctions of Madhvacharya as he interprets the Sruti and the Smriti. Speech, deed, relationship, body and mind are geared to this task. The devotee can see Vaikuntha here and now, trusting that this Lord of Lakshmi is not proud or superior; Hari carries loads of grass to the homes of those who worship him with flowers

> "Huvva taruvara manege hulla taruva
> avva Lakumiramana ivagilla garuva"[2]

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[1] "हरिय ओम्भतु भक्तिय बल्ल धीर
मरलि संस्कृतिय धरेगे हुट्टिबारा
दुराचार दुष्कृतिगलनु कन्डु सेरा
हिरियरोलु बिरुनुडिय जिह्वेगे तारा"

[2] "हुव्व तरुवर मनेगे हुल्ल तरुव
अव्व लकुमीरमण इवगिल्ल गरुव"

... Sometimes he is happy he has got possession of this Mantra which enables him to repeat the name of Narayana and he can, in the silence of his soul, utter it to himself; there is no greed in it, no strain or weariness, no money is spent on it. All the sins that envelope one are cleared and the entire clan to which one belongs is redeemed He feels he is. It is large enough to spread and lie on to cover oneself and to fill his body in full with Once the Lord is pleased the reward will be equal to repeating the name a crore times.

Rewards accrue to those who utter the name of Hari—that is the theme in another song. The merit that one gets from sight of and a bath in the Ganges and knowledge of the Veda and Sastra comes to them. It is a solid ingot of pure gold and a sure rewarder for those who strive for the Para. Even those who do not bathe in the sacred rivers or utter Mantras of the Japa, those that cannot liberally give in charity and the ignorant ones who do not know the ways of secret meditation gain all the felicities. It redeems by purifying one's birth as man Only, one should believe in and gain the love of Purandara Vitthala Those who know the several names of the Lord are easily won to their sweetness and beauty of reference, of sound, meaning and allusion. The mere bringing together sonorously these names of the Lord often produces deep effects on the mind. No special meaning need attach to the tongue that utters it; one feels the effectiveness of the rhythm, the colour and the sweetness of the words Sometimes a series of similitudes is given :

"Hariyemba namamrutada
Suruchiyu parama bhaktarigallade"
.... Harushavagaballade?[1]

[1]"हरियेंब नामामृतद
सुरुचियु परमभक्तरिगल्लदे...
...हरुषवागबल्लदे ?"

"A monkey can't become a child if covered with blanket and fig leaves;
A hog can't become an elephant being fed with ghee and sugar;
Could a blind one see if the moon appear in full orb?
Could a servantmaid be queen if she be made to wear gold ornaments?
Will the tail of a dog be straight if you tease or hold it in shape, etc.
—only the supreme devotees know the taste of the name and the nectar it is."

A song beginning with 'Harinamakirtane anudinavu Malparige/Naraka bhayavunte?'[1]—'One who sings the name of Hari, need he have any fear of hell? Can there be a deer not afraid of a lion? Can darkness be fearless of the sun; what hill can stand against the thunderbolt of Indra? Who can stand when the great flood overwhelms? 'Jalajanabha, Govinda, Janardana, Kalusha Harana, Kariraja Rakshaka' would be names which will compensate all other lacks. No snake could live without fear of Garuda; nor blade of grass which does not burn up in a bonfire. It's enough, if, in devotion of you, Purandara Vitthala, your name is uttered; or, your other names, like Narahari, Narayana Krishna, Kesava.'

Even the substantive help of the Lord is not necessary. It will be enough if he can get the aid of His name (Nineko ninna Hangeko/nina namada bala ondiddare sako)[2].

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[1] "हरिनामकीर्तने अनुदिनवु मालपरिगे
नरक भयवुटे ?"

[2] "नीनेको निन्न हगेको
निन्न नामद बल ओन्दिछरे साको"

Valmiki is the instance.[1]

Another song says the name is food of every special variety desired by men And, when, that is available why should one feel hungry?—such is the cry. The menu is fascinating Who does not fall for the items if they are so easily available?

At another time he calls to people that fruit is on sale. It is the fine plantain in the form of the golden boy Krishna. This fruit does not rot, nor get infested with worms, nor get smelly. Never is it so bad as to be thrown out; it is beyond measure; it does not get bitten by a parrot. It is the sweet mango in the form of Srihari. In another song it is likened to the divine pearl called Sacchidananda; the thread called Jnana links the pearls; one has only to meditate on it and not tie it up; nor should flaunt it decking one's nose with it; it cannot be held in a hand and is beyond a final value. It's the divine pearl which one can grasp in the form of Lord Purandara. ... In a further variant, it becomes sugarcandy (*Kallu Sakkare Kolliro*).[2] Only those who know know how sweet the candy is : when it is the divine name of Krishna; it cannot be loaded on the back of a bullock; one cannot carry it for marketing; nor ram it into a sack to fill full. You may travel all over, in all directions with it without having to pay toll. Could one value it by tens of thousands—it never strikes a loss nor is it destroyed; does not get spoiled if it is tied up or hidden in a bundle; does not suffer in quality if one keeps it over lengths of time. It always fetches a profit. It does not strain by asking us to carry it to the market, with no end to it howsoever one sells it. Take, take this

[1]Narada, Bhishma, Ajamila, Prahlada, Gajendra, Draupadi and Dhruva as the usual are supreme witnesses for the truth of and the saving power of the name.

[2]"कल्लु सक्करे कोल्लिरो"

candy. Purandara Vitthala's name removes all sin. Even one who remembers the Lord for the little time a grain of mustard could stand on the top of a cow's horn becomes a Jivanmukta. The poet longs for opportunities for remembering Him and singing His praises. Nothing else brings him so much joy.

A Suladi beginning with '*Trisula damaruga/bhasita rudrakshi*', etc.[1] in seven stanzas speaks of the sameness of the divine personality in unlimited forms. He is Ananta Muruti, Ananta Kiruti, Ananta Nama, etc. Purandaradasa's joy knows no bounds thinking of this Lord's feet and every limb of his body[2]. What he says has a surpassing simplicity in devotion and speaks of the singer who believes...

A Suladi called the Mahatmya Suladi (appx.) is famous, containing as it does the Kannada equivalent of some of the hymns and sections in the *Vedas* and the *Upanishads*. The structure of it is remarkable. He can be an atom; can grow into any size; atom and macro size he can be both in one—("*Anuvagaballa, mahattagaballa, Anu mahatteradu ondaga balla*")[3]—he can be Form and formless, Form and formless both in one; can be Vyakta, and invisible, be patent and inexpressible both in one; can be one with attributes and without any, Saguna, Nirguna and both in one ..

The next stanza is even more interesting. He can hear and sing and note through the eye, smell and taste; so with the tongue or with touch; through hearing and through smelling—and sense does work like all the other senses, not normally specialised by them. This is corresponding as it is pointed out in the great Madhvacharya's passage in his *Gita Tatparya:*

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[1]"त्रिशूल डमरुग/भसित रुद्राक्षि"

[2]Impious people can easily add dirty extensions in parody of it; that is easy.

[3]"अणुवागबल्ल महत्तागबल्ल अणुमहत्तेरडु ओंदागबल्ल"

"Shrunoti chakshusadeva srotrenacha vichakshate
Apanirapi chadatte hyapado vrajati drutam
Evam Sarvendriyaih Sarvam Karotina Koraticha."[1]

The other stanzas derive from the Acharya's Brahmatarka and Bharata Tatparya or from his commentary on the Chhandogya. The essence of such teaching is contained in simple Kannada words, meaning directly, meaning much and high. All that is asked of the Lord is that He may take the disciple beyond this life to the highest condition : what else could one's behaviour be—if not to dwell on Him. You are the final refuge of my wife and sons : this is all that I claim : we belong to you.

There is a division of Karma and Dharma between the Lord and the Servant. Such division is put into a number of songs. If it be mine not to forget you, to sustain me ever will have to be your Dharma You will do well not to count my wrongs. I shall never forget you and stray from you. There is no other to whom I could appeal. I have only you to petition to. This abjectness in trust is the essence of practically every Bhakti-religion. It is tender and trusting and so it will be cruel of God to reduce loyal servants to wretchedness or to break or disillusion them [2]

The same driving to extremity is in the story of Harischandra. Cruel indeed !—the same *Gita* which speaks of 'Yogakshemam vahamyaham' speaks in an other text of His test to the bitter end by saying 'Tasya vittam haramyaham'.[3] Possibly the test has to be total to prove its

[1] "श्रृणोति चक्षुषादेव श्रोत्रेणच विचक्षते"

In an organism's most undeveloped form it is described so. This is its developed expression.

[2] Such examples are in Job and the Ecclesiastes as well.

[3] "योगक्षेमम् वहाम्यहम्"

"तस्य वित्तम् हराम्यहम्"

truth and quality. Whatever might be the objective truth from the side of Godhead this attitude has provided opportunity for a devoted human life to cleanse and purify itself and devoutly to offer all that is and has to what it considers the highest. The sense of individual fulfilment is the gaining of the redeeming grace.

III. THE PUJA SONGS

PUJA AND ARADHANA of the Lord assume many forms. Since the Haridasas were orthodox followers of the Vaishnava religion of the Dvaita sect it takes on the colour of that sect After Vishnu, Hanuman, Bhima and Madhva become the Gurus; and to them service is rendered. Since in all religions this is a necessary feature it becomes institutionalised. If this narrows and limits the servant of God it also introduces a feeling of unity and cohesion among the followers of the creed. It is a contradictory position, no doubt, but real one. A song like the one which begins :

> "Sri Madhvarayara seve dorakuvudu
> Januma saphala kaniro..."[1]

enumerates the principal tenets of the creed and tries to establish the panel of the saints according to it. The first stanza itself speaks to the world of Madhvaraya as having gained victory over those who deny the truth and the difference between *Jada* and *Jiva*; that *Parabomma* is not '*Aguna*', supplies arguments that the world is real and that *Brahma* is '*Saguna*'; that Hari is Sarvottama and Eternal; that after him comes Ramadevi, followed by *Vidhi* and *Prana*. Then follow the rest of the important members of the pantheon as the teacher has taught them :[2]

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[1]"श्री मध्वरायर सेवे दोरकुवुडु
जनुम सफल काणिरो......"

[2]It is beautiful to see how every stanza of Purandaradasa links itself naturally in meaning to the refrain. Sometimes two stanzas articulate
(*Contd.*)

"Ee pari taratamya dhyanarchaneyinda apavarga
dana seveya madiro emba
Sri Madhvarayara seve..."[1]

Madhva's precursor in the incarnation of Rama is the great Hanuman and when one remembers Sanjivaraya what fear can good men have? 'What fear?'—which introduces another way in which Purandaradasa confirms the meaning in the refrain itself by repeating the first phrase or bar of the refrain, after the increment—

"Anjikinyatakayya sajjanarige/
Anjikinyatakayya?"[2]

and this is a song on which the great Tyagaraja has patterned a song in Kalyani[3] Raga of his own and so have others of more recent times. That is the essential vitality of a meaning and a musical mode. One of the most beautiful as also an extremely popular piece is—

"Bhagyada Lakshmi baramma" (in Madhyamavati or Sri-Adi) and in this song "—Nammamma ni, Sau—bhagyada"[4] would be the increment. And how is Lakshmi herself, the second in the Pantheon, invoked? She is next

together to so link up with the refrain occasionally and the usual musical practice, repeating the refrain at the end of each stanza, once, twice, thrice breaks the continuity of meaning and makes nonsense of the connection in such cases.

[1] "ई परि तारतम्य ध्यानार्चनेयिन्द
अपवर्गदन सेवेय माडिरो एम्ब
श्री मध्वरायर सेवे······"

[2] "अंजिकिन्यातकय्या सज्जनरिगे
अजिकिन्यातकय्या ?"

[3] There are many parallel pieces of composition between the two, item after item.

[4] "भाग्यद लक्ष्मि बारम्म"
"नम्मम्मनी सौभाग्यद"

to Vishnu only, subordinate only to Him and high above all else in the world. Step after step Lakshmi comes down, with the sound of the bells 'you wear on the feet; and, right at the time the worship is being offered; as naturally and joyously as butter comes up when curds is churned and buttermilk is formed.' Every Hindu home responds to a figure like that :

"Hejjeya mele hejjeyanikkuta
Gejjeya kalina daniyanu maduta
Sajjana sadhu pujeya velege
Majjigeyolagina benneya hage .."[1]*

How Krishna or Ranga is invoked and is felt as an image of meditation assumes a hundred forms and in the bulk of them assumes the form of the young Krishna of the Bhagavata :

-Odi barayya Vaikuntha pati.
-Yadava ni ba.
-Ranga baro, Lakshmikanta baro.
-Barayya Venkataramana.
-Krishnamurti kanna munde.
-Kande na kanasinali Govindana.
-Deva banda, namma Swami bandano.
-Indireyarasa Venkata banda manege.
-Garuda gamana bandano.

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[1]"हेज्जेय मेले हेज्जेयनिक्कुत
गेज्जेय कालिन दनियनु माडुत
सज्जन साधु पूजेय वेलेगे
मज्जिगेयोलगिन बेण्येय हागे......"

*It calls up to our mind the other emergence of Lakshmi when she came up at the first Samudra Manthana. Contrast the birth of Venus.

-Kannara kande Acyutana.[1]
—there is no limit to it.

Occasionally Purandara plays with a form of God making fun of him as in :

"Daniye nodidenu Venkatana"[2]
(I have seen Venkata to my heart's fill)

where the God of Tirupati is described as one who eats boiled red rice and extracts income from his devotees without forgiving them for lapse of a pie or pice in interest; the one who agrees to sell pancakes and rice; yet the one who dances in joy in the company of his servants. This is what makes Purandara's composition extremely human and dear to the most unlettered. This is the naturalness and almost the spontaneity of the bulk of Purandaradasa's songs.

The Dasa sometimes makes unreasonable calls on his God. This makes the song and the attitude magnificent. A kriti in 'Nadanamakriya'—

"Na ninagenu (na ninnanenu) beduvudilla—Enna
Hridaya kamaladolu nelasiru Hariye"[3]

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[1] -ओड़ि बारय्य वैकुन्ठ पति
-यादव नी बा
-रग बारो लक्ष्मीकान्त बारो
-बारय्य वेंकटरमण
-कृष्णमूर्ति कण्ण मुदे
-कंडे ना कनसिनलि गोविंदन
-देव बंद, नम्म स्वामि बन्दनो
-इंदिरेयरस वेंकट बंदा मनेगे
-गरुड गमन बदनो
-कण्णार कंडे अच्युतना

[2] दणिये नोड़िदेनु वेंकटना

[3] "ना निनगेनु बेडुवुदिल्ल—एन्न
हृदयकमलदोलु नेलसिरु हरिये......"

"Dwell in the lotus of my heart, Hari; I shall not beg of you anything else. May my head bow to your feet and I see with affection your form; my nose feel the fragrance of even the (faded) flowers you have worn; my ears hear and my tongue sing praises of you; my arms close in adoration of you. May my feet travel to your sacred places and my mind remember you with love. May my senses get immersed in you and I get the company of your devotees .." etc.—which is truly absorbing[1].

As servant of God he knows what he wants and will not shift from his position of a tight hold on the Lord's feet—Bide Ninna Padava—which is a peculiarly Indian way of expressing a condition of service petitioning for acceptance.. There is a brilliant flourish in praise of the sort of beauty that the Dasa finds only in the Gopijanapriya—Gopala. What other Gods are comparable to him? 'Ee pariya sobagaava devarali kane/Gopijana priya Gopalagallade?'[2] : Is it kingship?—he is the Lord of the Goddess Earth; is it wealth?—he is the Lord of Lakshmi; is it elderliness?—he is the father of Brahma the Creator; is it teacherhood?—he is the primal teacher; is anyone as sacred as he is?—He is the father of the immortal Ganges; or is it Godliness?—he is the Lord of the Gods; Beauty?—

[1]Unfortunately such songs lend themselves easily to parody, e.g., an earthling can ask for nothing else but just a fat bank account, a motor car and a lush job for himself or his son or a beautiful wife; or, a wife make trouble to her husband that she will ask for no more than an immediate settlement on her of a thousand rupees a month or get her a diamond bracelet; or a highway robber that he will not ask anything more than what the traveller has with him; when the whole atmosphere can change and make mock of Purandara and his song. But that is not the fault of the Dasa. Not alone imitation a parody is a rich tribute to the beauty of an original.

[2]"ई परिय सोबगाव देवरलि काणे—
गोपीजनप्रिय गोपालगल्लदे......

He is the father of Manmatha who fascinates the world; courage and all prowess?—he is the destroyer of Asuras. When one speaks of movement, He rides on Garuda like on a horse; His rest is on the Adisesha who sustains the burden of the Universe. Who else can compare with Him? No other God has this wealth about him. References like these are known to and understood by all the Hindus in this land and it goes straight to their hearts, confirming faith and giving people confidence.

Yet, all through these series of songs, the feeling runs that the Bhakta is helpless without the kindness and succour of his God and joy whenever he gets a chance of a glimpse of people at or vision of Him in any form, or, in any instance of heavenly help. The concrete shape that God assumes in any one of His forms is thrilling to describe and a total surrendering of the soul of the devotees to him. There is an earnest effort to tell him how much faith he has in Him :

> "Ninna nambide Nıraja-nayana"[1]

etc., and calling upon Him to accept him. Earnest efforts are made to find out the ways and means of making himself acceptable :

> "Enanittu mecchisuveno/
> Entu ninna puje madi mecchisuveno/
> Hege archisali, mecchisali?"[2]

etc., and a consideration of the most essential things that constitute worship; for example, Hari does not accept

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[1] "निन्न नबिदे नीरजनयन"

[2] "एननित्तु मेच्चिसुवेनो—
एन्तु निन्न पूजे माड़ि मेच्चिसुवेनो—
हेगे अर्चिसाली, मेच्चसलि ?"

worship without Tulasi, whatever else is gathered to worship him with, howsoever sacred are the waters and the lights, the incense, the honey, milk and curd. There may be flowers like the Lotus and Jasmine, Champaka and Mallika or the Ketaki; jangling of bells and sound of music; variety of delicacies in food offered; the highest mantras chanted—the Purusha Sukta itself; of what importance are all these without Tulasi?

Several varieties of worship are detailed each in a different song and quite a feast is spread for God's acceptance—which gives us an idea of what constitutes a banquet of fruit, dressed dishes, substantive items, appetisers or flavourers in Purandaradasa's songs.

In this connection we might mention how Hari will not listen to or be patient with mere song or praise, where love of Him is wanting : 'Kelano Hari Talano/Tala me lagaliddu, nemavillada Gana'[1]—He who has heard the songs of Narada and Tambura cannot be expected to accept the music of mere mortals, simply because the songs are sung sweetly and to the accompaniment of musical instruments,—howsoever artistically presented...All the 16 'Upacharas' mentioned as elements of worship come in for mention and elaboration and Hari is sent to rest with song and praise, with lullabies even as he has been got up to the day's tasks with wake-up invocations. If 'Elayya belagayitu/Uppavadisayya Hariye'[2] are songs of greeting in the morning,—'Lali Lali namma Hariye Lali,...malagayya Jalajanabha Manikya mantapadolu,[3] are for sending him

[1] "केलनो हरि तालनो
ताल मेलगलिछु नेमविल्लद गान.. ...

[2] "एलय्य बेलगायितु"
उप्पवडिसय्य हरिये"

[3] "लालि लालि नम्म हरिये लालि......
मलगय्य जलजनाभ माणिक्य मंटपदोलु

to rest. And so is the song beginning with 'Pavadisu paramatmane, Swami/Bhavaroga vaidyane Bhaktara priyane'[1], one of the most impressive, though as poetry and substantive imagination the piece may not score high The colour and the detail and the association make it compelling. As sung it can be marvellous.

[1]"पावडिसु परमात्मने, स्वामि
भवरोग वैद्यने, भक्तर प्रियने"

IV. THE KRISHNA LEELA SONGS

KRISHNA AND HIS childhood and pranks of his early boyhood are the endless preoccupation of the Dasas in much of the Vaishnava literature Such Leela illustrates both the *Vatsalya* and *Madhura* Bhavas A few songs of that kind composed by Purandaradasa may be noticed. Balarama and Krishna are together mentioned no doubt in praise or adoration. But the one who stands out and dominates is little Krishna The fortune of the Gopi-mother Yasoda is lauded : it is given to her to hold the child and play with it in all the numberless ways a mother handles and dandles her child :

> "Gopiya Bhagyavidu—
> Aa Paramatmana appi muddiduvudu"[1]

She can clasp the supreme Lord and kiss Him; what wealth is given to that Gopi ! Purandara goes into details and becomes the mother so to fondle the baby—she plays with the child, kisses him, makes him play in a hundred ways with toys; bathes him, stretches him on her outstretched legs and feeds him with milk. Even this mother—does she know that Hari is the eternally contented one? That does not matter; it is enough he is her child; she would bring him the sweetest of sweet delicacies in golden bowls Fresh milk, ghee and sugar are fed him again and again.[2] She calls to the wayward child to make him feed on them; makes him wear new coats or cap and decks him with

[1] "गोपिय भाग्यविदु—
आ परमात्मन अप्पि मुद्दिडुवुदु"

[2] Obviously, with no detriment to his health !

jewels not considering that he is the father of Manmatha himself. She is fearful that an evil eye might hurt him and marks his forehead with dark marks, waves lights to drive away evil influences or quickly waves around his face salt and neem before putting him into the cradle to sleep. If the child cries she calls out to him consoling; or calls upon him to be quiet to keep the ogre out; or takes him to her breast To countless gods she tenders him for care wishing him long life and begging their favour for it. She does not bother that countless Bramhandas hang about a blade of his hair! This is tender doing and is peculiar in a Hindu home. The mere repetition of a few names of Hari, Madhava, Madhusudhana or Bramhadi Vandita, O Hari, would be the ways in which she calls Purandara Vitthala, the primal person as she affectionately takes him to her arms.

One very popular song tells us how this poor mother fondly believed that this redeemer of the three worlds was her son :

> "Aadisidalu Yasoda Jagadoddharana/
> Maganendu Kareyuta—Adisidalu"[1]

This person who can only be sensed by the Vedas, the one who is the eye of the Universe, who assumes the form of the whole Cosmos and pervades the Universe, who is the atom among atoms, the macro in the macro-cosmos, the one who cannot be expressed in count or number and perhaps not attainable by the Vedas themselves—for His greatness is beyond measure;—this ruby among the children, he is her child now. And the mother's heart is above all of them...Other mothers and womenfolk felicitate her on having such a beautiful child for son :

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[1]"आडिसिदलु यशोदा जगदोद्धारन/
मगनेन्दु करेयुत-आडिसिदलु"

"Entha punyave ninna dentha bhagyave Gopi/
Intha magana kaneve. ."[1]

(What large merit is yours, mother
What wealth is yours, Gopi
We have not seen a boy-child
like this son of yours.)

The mother is taken up everyday with his play who is a source of joy in her hands and in the arms of others which take him up. He is easily one of the most captivating of children; a jewel among them. All women, young and old, seem taken up with his praise. In their homes they think of him; feel how blessed they are that they can remember him and sing his praise. When they sit by his side and call to him, stand pounding rice at home, wash the floors of their homes, decorate the interior or put into cradle and rock their own children to rest; and in the mornings churn the curd for butter—walking, speaking, eating lunch or dinner, dressing or putting on their own jewels or tying up their braids or decking with sweet smelling flowers or regaling themselves on the swing or helping themselves to pan Whether they sing a song or speak of things their minds are full of Krishna. Often instructions are issued to the elements to forbear; and, when they are not sure of sights and sounds these people can hear the prattle of little Krishna; they see him crawling up to them with the sounding bells of his ankle. Or, they see the little teeth showing up like little buds of Jasmine and O when he opens his lips or widens his mouth, what does the mother see?—the entire Universe! Many are the ways in which they describe the child and his play. And when he grows up, he is called

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[1] "एन्था पुण्यवे निन्नदेन्था भाग्यवे गोपि
इन्था मगन काणेवे......"

upon to come and give other mothers a kiss. Blessed and fulfilled they feel then.

One picture of the mother and others playing him seated on their laps and playing him moving forward and bac ward with a movement of their arms to their sides :

> "Tolu Tolu Krishna, Tolannadai"[1]
> (Move and bend in my arms as my arms play you, Krishna)

is a pretty delight in a mother's life. So is the sight of the child as he dances before the mother or an elderly woman when she holds the child in both arms and lets it down for dance as in 'Hari Kunida, namma Hari Kunida'[2]. The event of the little child turning full back on his face—lying on the floor—is another event in child-play. Or the attention of the mother is drawn to the cries of the child; for no amount of persuasion by others than the mother consoles him—

> "Bare Gopamma, ninna balayyanalutane/
> Aru tugidaru malaganu Muravairi..."[3]
> (Come Gopi mother, the dear boy is crying. Muravairi does not sleep, whoever else rocks the cradle)

When he has grown up a little more his boyish exploits are recounted, directly or indirectly. These songs draw on the events of the ten Avataras of Vishnu. Time is not linear or progressive, spiral or gradual to these people or to the singer. It is the eternal present, simultaneous. This,

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[1] "तोलु तोलु कृष्ण, तोलन्नाडै"

[2] "हरि कुणिद नम्म हरि कुणिद"

[3] "बारे गोंपम्म, निन्न बालय्यनलुताने
आरु तूगिदरु मलगनु मुरवैरी"

for example, is a photographic condensation of those stories or of his own earlier and later exploits. "He plays in the water and moans that the body does not dry. He carries the burden of the Meru and he is feeling heavy the weight; he raises the earth and cries that his jaws are paining; seizes the bowels of the wicked Rakshasa and weeps at the sight, come Gopamma, stop him crying. He measures the earth and cries that his little foot is paining; vengefully would like to wield his axe; sees huge monkeys spreading before him and is afraid at the sight of them; he cannot reach to the butter that hangs from its rest in the ceiling Come Gopamma; console him. He stands stark bare, asks to be taken up;—calls that he might be made to ride on a formidable horse and will not agree to lie quietly in the cradle " All the stories of Matsya, Kurma, Varaha, Narasimha, Vamana, Parasurama, Rama, Krishna—funnily Buddha—are there. These Bhaktas live a thousand years after the theory of avataras is accepted and will insist on endowing the Krishna-child with all these forms and miracles even as child Purandaradasa is the Gopi and does not care for anachronisms.

Or, the mother is anxious that something wrong has happened to the child and calls to others to see what is wrong with him :

> "Enayitu Rangage nodiramma—ni/
> Dhanisi enagondu peliramma"[1]

Extraordinary things are happening. "He does not close his eyes from the moment of birth and will not suck milk whatever one does to put him to the breast; does not lift his face which he but twists nor shut his mouth howsoever I try to prevail on him. Something has happened—but

[1] "एनायितु रंगगे नोडिरम्म—नि/
धानिसि एनगोन्दु पेलिरम्म—"

what? His body suddenly grows larger and yet larger. And the mother that has borne him has not the strength to hold him The ocean dries up at a cast of his eye. Let him but open his mouth, the Universe is seen. O, he speaks so much; and, he asks to ride the horse Surely, this is Purandara Vitthala himself and none else."

Or, the mother tries to put some fright into him saying that an ogre appears if he does not sleep and it will not hurt him if he be a good boy and goes to sleep The ogre is described in many forms . The child soon grows out of such efforts at frightening him and one day calls this bluff! Even this is a matter for rejoicing for the mother for—clever dear—he has seen through the trick !

> "Gummana kareyadire Amma, ninu/
> Summane Iruvenu, ammiya bedenu
> Mạmmu unnutenamma, aluvudilla"[1]

There is one reaction worse still later He actually challenges the mother to show him the ogre and tells her not to frighten him unnecessarily.

He is a slightly more grown-up boy and escapes into streets and to other houses and plays pranks there; catches young women by the edge of their skirts and will not let them go about their daily mores Or, the mother goes into every house asking if they have not seen Krishna in their houses

> "Amma, nimma manegalalli
> Namma Muddu Krishnana Kandirenamma?"[2]

which has become a classic in modern Abhinaya.

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[1] "गुम्मन करेयदिरे अम्म, नीनु,
सुम्मने इरुवेनु, अम्मिय बेडेनु
मम्मु उण्णुवेनम्म, अलुवुदिल्ल'

[2] "अम्मा निम्मा मनेगलल्लि
नम्मा मुद्दु कृष्णना कंडिरेनम्म ?"

A number of complaints have been brought against him from the neighbours and he promises not to do such things again. 'I shall not go where women sit; nor close their eyes from behind; I shall not beat the other children, nor scold my brother; will not ask for butter, or eat mud; I shall not go to the well, mother, or play on the head of the serpent and will not sit loosing the calves to suck milk from their mother's udders ' One beautiful line clinches the whole argument when he says : 'I shall sit quietly in one place like the idols of the Gods in the households.' It is criticism indeed of the Gods and of worship ..

A song sees Krishna coming to the mother with a grievance that other children speak against him, with meaningful looks talking things about him. 'What enormity'—he says, 'Is it true that Devaki delivered me? That my father is Vasudeva? That I was born in a prison and that I came here for fear of uncle Kamsa? That you have not given birth to me? That I am not your son? And—strangely enough—the reason why you have brought me up is because you have no others to look after your cattle!' Rather. And so on.. The list extends to other enterprises of his boyhood days.

Many occasions occur when the mother asks the child not to go out of the house She is afraid both for the child and for the endless complaints by the people. If he likes to play he might do that at home where she would provide him with everything he desires. The most famous of songs of this kind is—

> "Pogadirelo Ranga—bagilindachege/
> Bhagavataru kandare etti kondoyvaru—[1]
> (or—bidadetti koluvaro)" Shankarabharana Raga

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[1] "पोगदिरेलो रंग बागिलिंदाचेगे/
भागवतरु कंडरे एत्ति कोंडोय्वरु—"

He would be a find invaluable to the godly saints themselves, a priceless jewel to all the pretty girls in the streets; bolder women will desire him for themselves. But the sting in it is taken out by promising him plenty of butter to persuade him to stay.

The child grows up into a bigger boy and the Gopa girls have a big to-do with him at all the times. They want him very much to be with them, cannot beguile their time when he is out of their sight; the delights he can give are so fascinating that against their best objections they would like to allow him liberties—whether it be stealing butter from their houses or playing with them ungovernably. Any number of them may threaten to complain against him to the mother and have him punished. But the recounting of his deeds and the threats themselves are their delight. He is described as looting the shrines in the houses, eating up the things offered to their Gods as Naivedya and when cautioned says that their God is satisfied. He takes further liberties with the young girls by offering to deck them with flower and paint and do wrong things for any free boy : 'Has the mother made him the sacred Bull of the streets? Why does she not teach him to be decent? Is this boy, your son, free to behave in the most unworthy ways with us girls? He may be your beloved son...What is he to others? Is he of the same age with me?'—ask other girls. They are grown-up ones and know that he is not authorised to play grown-up tricks on them. 'Has he bought me with 200 *varahas?*' asks another! Details of description sometimes go beyond the permissible, even in the case of such a prodigy as a child; so many and so tantalizing are his ways... The mother does not know what to do. On such occasions she deems and declares that all such complaints are false and faked for her child is such an innocent dear and nice. She would answer:

'Saku madiravva Rangayyana eke Duruvire?' (Enough of your complaints against Rangayya) and tell the child himself : 'Dooru maduvaro Rangayya, ninna'[1]. (They complain against you child Rangayya) A typical idiom in the Kannada country is the description that a person is so innocent that he cannot bite the finger put into his mouth. Krishna is like that If he but sees a large sized ant he jumps up crying in fear. Yet the mother is not without the feeling that every morning that dawns fills her with agonies and brings her countless complaints about his mischief. And they blame it on the mother for having brought him into the world.

One of the brashest of descriptions is in the song which begins with—

(—Arabhi-Ata)

"Chandragaviyanuttu, dundu muttane katti
Pendeya ruliyanittu,
Kendavına halu haraviya hottukondu
Bandalu bidigake."[2]

A girl colourfully dressed in red ochre, decked with round pearl and carrying a pot full of milk comes into the town for selling it in the street. Krishna stops her. Hearing her cry from the far-end of the street he says to her that there are festivities in his home and she has to stop selling it elsewhere. She naturally resents her being stayed for he is not a buyer and she is a married woman. She threatens to take a complaint to the King and get him punished .. In

[1] "साकु माडिरव्व रंगय्यन एके दूरुविरि ?
दूरु माडुवरो रगय्य निन्न"

[2] "चंद्रगावियनुट्टु दुंडु मुत्तने कट्टि
पेंडेय रुलियनिट्टु
केंदाविन हालु हरविय होत्तुकोंडु
बंदलु बीदिगाके—"

another case, somebody was carrying dried forest creepers to sell; she is asked to give them free. Who was he to obstruct her passage? She would make a complaint to the police. But he was not the one to be frightened with threats... Or,.. might she deign partaking Pansupari with him and go away without maligning him? .. He is dressed up, carries a staff in hand and on his forehead is the bright mark of Tilaka. The place is beneath the banyan tree and he is asking her to pay toll for selling milk before time and picks or pulls the edge of her skirt A dialogue develops between them, which tells us how difficult it was for anybody to thwart him. To her entreaties he advances an argument which is the height of amorous violence. One sees that this absolves him in the eye of the Dasa; for his is the argument in favour of the God He is; and there is elimination of all other values Even such incivility should not count. She appeals to him to let her go. To every appeal calling upon him—father, brother, uncle, brother-in-law, child—he answer her with an extremity of argument which is not fair in society; but of what avail is it before a boy who is God?

The last stanza concludes clearly: She throws down the pot from her head and catches up the little Krishna.

There are other songs of a similar kind where he appropriates to himself things meant for worship, considered sacred and set apart. He helps himself to them all saying that it is He for whom all these things are meant and that the worshippers and their ancestors are all redeemed! Rather an argument!—but that is the trend of an attitude and behaviour which the Dasas approved. It is not extenuation of conduct, but an explanation by a higher validity than that of the social level. Such things are embarrassing on the secular count. At least as difficult it is to accept the song that begins with—

"Saddu madalu bedavo—ninna kalige
Biddu na dedikombe
Nidde gaiyuvarella, eddare, ninu ban
daddu Kandare, enembaro"[1]

'Do not make noise'—it begins. As a love song its playfulness is pretty and exciting. The appeal to him is that he might not do anything to disturb the house-folk who are sleeping by pulling at her, or making her jewellery or the bells on her waistband sound or with his loud-kissing, or singing a wanton song. These are of no avail; what fear has he?—Who can or dare keep him off?

So on till he is called out of Mathura and Brindavan by his uncle Kamsa. Endless is the sorrow of the women-folk on his going away They cannot bear the torments of life without him; whatever else they have in Vraja is empty of cheer and meaning if he goes away from them. Songs in description of this separation are tender with a pathos telling us how deep in affection Krishna was held by them all.

Brindavana—and life in Gokula—is insipid hereafter to them that Uddhava came to take him away... Throughout all join in asking him to grant them knowledge and devotion—full and fulfilling. Every act of playfulness, every wanton wile and soft enterprise is an act desired and cherished by them. Young Krishna fills their mind and heart, and they forget the little irritations caused and the complications he led them into. So large has been the compensation in joy and relief and deliverance for them that they are only grateful to him for having graced them with his presence in the place.

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[1] "सद्दु माडलु बेडवो—निन्न कालिगे
बिद्दु ना बेडिकोबे
निद्दे गैयुवरेल्ल एद्दरे नीनु बंदद्दु
कंडरे एनेबरो"

An incident which more than one Haridasa celebrates is the sound of Krishna's flute as he plays on it on the bank of the Yamuna. Purandaradasa's song rings a variant and adds further colour to similar ones by Sripadaraya and Vyasaraya :

"Ranga kolalan uduvaga
Mangalamayavaytu dhare"[1]
(The Earth was filled with beneficence when
Ranga played on the Flute)

Faded mango trees bear clusters of fruit; the moving winds go slower; a dry stick of a tree gets thickly laden with blossom; the bees stop humming; etc.

The Sakhya Bhava and the attitude of service are as warmly described and when the full realisation comes to him of the overwhelming joy of the realisation his mind is in full tune with God's presence. The rest of the world and life counts for nothing.

But before we come to that we might survey briefly the development in discipline and culture which led Purandara Dasa from the torments and tribulations, the temptations, the failure and frustrations from the early period till he attained final fulfilment.

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[1] "रंग कोललनूडुवाग
मगलमयवाय्तु धरे"

V. THE PROCESS AND THE PATH

INTELLECTUALLY A PERSON might arrive at a stage when he feels that the tenor of his life so far has been wrong. He might have become aware of the better course of life; opt for it; to get initiated into it and decide in everything to live the true life of religion and faith. But there are the elements of daily life, thought and habit and elements in the environment—social and physical—that every minute impress upon him the difficulty of the larger life. The senses tempt; the mind is fickle and wavers; arguments cloud counsel His own lacks and limitations obstruct development. And the agonies of soul and failure of function are part of the long way to go. Good food needs to be cooked well. And the cooking should be complete for serving dinner. The life of the Bhakta at the first stage is like the raw material that is in process of being cooked and dressed for dinner. Heat is applied to it. And there is the sound and the smell and the heat and the spill at the cooking. All this is presented as a process in the development of the Dasa's Bhakti till, the dross being removed, his sensibilities in life become pure gold for acceptance by God.

At the outset the Dasa feels that he has not the tongue even to make a moan or a petition to his God : his guilt is so limitless, endless—

> "Ananta aparadha ennalli iralagi
> Binnahake baayillavayya..."[1]

[1] "अनंत अपराध एन्नल्लि इरलागि
बिन्नहके बायिल्लवय्य......"

The sorrow is genuine; one must cry in agony in the depths of his soul in the knowledge of how very wrong has been his life so far and what he has failed to be before he can ask to be accepted. This is the mood of remorse. With such mood one begins. Because the faith is true, the real religious life is given a go "My faults are without end and I have no tongue with which to petition to you. Fondness for child and wife and too much fondness for father and mother and over much love for brothers who are men of taste; love of honour from the king; love for cattle and land and for the groups of relations—have made me forget you, Hari. With what tongue can I petition to you? Pride of food and money and pride of all the grandeur one has; pride of youth and handsomeness of form, pride of one's own power; and pride that the whole earth has come into my grasp; that no one can withstand me—have all taken away from me the tongue to petition... The desire is for more when so much is gained; when that is gained, for still more. The desire that one should not be exposed to difficulties and may have only pleasure; and, the desire to cling to life which tends ever to be lost. When such endless faults are mine I have no tongue with which to make my petition to you." This sense of wants and failures—at once his and of the generality of men makes him speechless as it were, and the two words—"Ananta aparadha" articulate meaning in the Mohana Raga in which it is set—so as to give the full sense of endlessness : "Binnahake bayillavayya, ananta aparadha ennalli iralagi"[1]—is so simple that it can be rendered either as a petition or a suit or a moan or a representation : "with what tongue can I" is the implied question that may spoil the idiom of another language.

There are moments when he tells himself that he should

[1] "बिन्नहके बायिल्लवय्य, अनंत अपराध एन्नल्लि इरलागि

have by now done with the pleasures of life :

> "Saaku saakinnu samsara sukhavu"[1]
> (Enough of the pleasures of life from now on)

"What will happen to me"—feels he who has wasted time without thinking of God. How uselessly and despicably he has wasted his time engaging his mind in petty things. A concrete description comes up when he describes how men point to the gold they have in their hands; give glad eyes to the girl who moves about like a toy-fan (Bannada Beesanige); how one is burnt up in passion like new lime on which cold water is poured or like one who has cast mud into his eyes; how prone one was and how responsive the ear when the call to a game at chess or dice was heard and how like a cloud which came down to the earth it sounded when one was called to vigil or to prayer on a sacred day. This has been within his experience. When called at least once to worship Vasudeva the head felt weary; but if at that moment someone offered to give a pice, the mind followed like the son of his slave. How wretched is one's mind!... If there is festivity in a nearby house, one's desire was to go inside before being invited These pleasures are no bigger than drops of water. Life's sorrows are as big as hills; and no doubt about it. Trust our Purandara Vitthala and only then will you be happy. Does the mind listen or heed? Its knowledge is imperfect and he will not like to give up the desires of the body :

> "Manavenna matu keladu/manda jnanadi/
> Tanuvinaseya bidalolladu"[2]

Sometimes the fancy comes to him how Sri Hari himself can uplift a person who spends his days and nights so.

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[1] "साकु साकिन्नु संसार सुखवु"

[2] "मनवेन्न मातु केलडु/मंदज्ञानदि
तनुविनासेय बिडलोल्लडु"

"Hege uddhara maduvano Sri Hari
Hige dinagala dudidavana"[1]

How he has spent the days and nights all along follows in the stanza. In the uncertainties of his mind he prays to his God that by himself he is helpless : "I can't be here and cannot go there," he cries—"Keep and hold me where you are, my God." An attitude like this takes him further with a request that he should be taken to His feet correcting faults and crookedness of mind "I have become your servant; have no more doubts about me; make me a true one."

Between the period when Purandaradasa undertook the new life and the final stages of fulfilment, he obviously underwent turmoil of the spirit inside him and out while moving about the country. Intellectual understanding comes early but realising it, i.e., making it a fact and a value in life takes a lot more time. Old habits of life and thought, feelings and attitudes die hard. Current modes of dress, talk, behaviour and social conduct have to adjust themselves to a new need and one finds oneself not free from limitations The conduct not only of himself but also of those who are near and dear to him has to be kept in view and corrected. The jeers of quite a few have to be met and digested. Hampe had seen him move about proud, rich and shrewd and possibly arrogant in the olden days. The sudden change-over into a life of poverty—voluntary though it was—and sight of him in the streets with bells on ankles, a pair of castanets in hand, plucking a small tambura in another, with the tail of a Dasa-turban flowing on the back, bare in the upper part of the body, with religious marks all over, going out in the streets, singing songs, with wife, sons and others following him, should

[1] "हेगे उद्धार माडुवनो श्री हरि
हीगे दिनगल दुडिदवन"

have been an amazing sight for men. Not all could have reconciled themselves to it. And when he had decided to live on the alms he received for his maintenance and asked his wife strictly to feed all who came and keep nothing for the morrow and accept nothing else as property or for keeps, it was strange indeed. A number of people must have made hard comments and jeered.

When he went from one part of the country to another he was subject to other forms of humiliation and discourtesy. The limitations and failures of his own heart must have made him groan. It is the clearest glass that looks marred by a bubble and the whitest cloth on which the small speck of dirt shows abnormally. Agonies were felt; doubts rose in himself whether he would ever attain his goal. Some must have behaved cruelly also. What is called the Dark Night of the Soul was felt inside him testing the strength of his fibre or the rightness of the course he had chosen. A few songs express this situation and phase in his life. Sometimes he laughs at himself; sometimes he institutes an inquiry into his own mind. Sometimes he is sorry that he has to go to strangers and beg devoid of pride and sore at the unkind ordaining.

"Enu baredeyo Brahma ..eshtu nirdayano
Genodalu Porevudake pogi pararanu pancha
Banaśama rupa ninendu pogale;
Ane ninnanilla; nale barendenalu
Gana tiruguva ettinante tolaluvadu —Enu..."[1]

That he has to praise others for just a feed and for supporting his body! He had everthing once and need not have

[1]"एनु बरेदेयो ब्रह्मा ····एश्टु निर्दयनो
गेणोडलु पोरेवुदके पोगि पररनु पंच
बाणसम रूप नीनेंदु पोगले
आणे निन्नणिल्ल; नाले बारेंदेनलु
गाण तिरुगुव एत्तिनंते तोललुवुद—एनु"

taken up this sort of life. One wonders why he should have agonised like this. Once he chose this life he should have known its implications. We know this as well; one does not realise what really the hardships will be like until one concretely faces them.[1] The world is hard and subjects the worthiest to hardship and humiliation. Even a saint suffers under it particularly in the phases of development. He has felt like an ox that pulls an oil press when he has been called upon to come the next day and the next day after that. He has to speak well and better each time he meets a person who passes for a benefactor; and, when he is put off on a bad day, he feels miserable—like a rat that has eaten a lizard!—a fantastic observation.

On another occasion, he has gone to another part of the country and is distressed that he has been forced to go there: "O my Master, why have you—who cannot foster me—created me ? There is no one here of my tribe or group One does not know which place it is. It has no king who can spot out worth.[2] My mind does not feel easy or successful; I have no gold or diamond to offer in return for kindly treatment. It is not proper to remain here longer. The land seems foreign, not his own; his body has not the strength to withstand all this hardship. Obviously this is fairly an advanced age and we wish we knew of what place and persons he is talking. There is no zest in his life, he says, and the limbs in his body are not firm. Only Purandara Vitthala knows why he has been put to all this misery... Hard is the life which makes him wait at a stranger's door like a dog. What is he doing? He can't get up in the morning, get through the daily chores, offer worship to his God. He has to get into another's house and wait on people. A stone can be made to melt; you can extract oil out of fried

[1]Or, is this an interpretation ?

[2]We do not know of what time in his life he is here speaking.

gram and eat it; it is harder to win the regard or consideration of the so-called knowing or able ones. That one has to grin with every tooth in the mouth open-mouthed—is the misery of miseries.

Nowise daunted, he presses on He continually offers prayer to his God that he might be made a proper servant. He can release him from evil thoughts and give him the assurance of protection, free him from fear with hand laid on his head. He cannot suffer indifference and neglect at the hands of the Lord for he is begging for true devotion as a blessing from the same Lord. It is part of his business now to cleanse his mind and fix his thoughts in devotion to Him.

When he commends himself to his Lord now he can wholeheartedly say that he has passed the period of untruth and show. There is no crookedness in him. One of the most beautiful pieces ascribed to him presents the situation. He is taking the name of the Lord and singing His praise. What if I am bent and crooked? O Vitthala, is your name crooked?

"Na donkadareno-ninna nama donke Vitthala?
Nadiyu donkadarenu-udaka donke Vitthala?
Kabbu donku adarenu—Sihi donke Vitthala?
Pushpa donku adarenu—Parimala donke Vitthala?
Akalu donku adarenu—Halu donke Vitthala?
Billu donku adarenu—Bana donke Vitthala?
Nanu Holeyanadarenu—Ninna nama holeye Vitthala?
Ajnanadarenu—kayo Sujna Purandara Vitthala..."[1]

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[1] "ना डोंकादरेनो-निन्न नाम डोके विट्ठल?
नदियु डोंकादरेनु-उदक डोंके विट्ठल ?
कब्बु डोंकादरेनु—सिहि डोंके विट्ठल ?
पुष्प डोंकादरेनु—परिमल डोंके विट्ठल ?
आकलु डोंकादरेनु—हालु डोके विट्ठल ?
बिल्लु डोंकादरेनु—बाण डोंके विट्ठल ?
नानु होलेयनादरेनु—निन्न नाम होलेये विट्ठल ?
अज्ञनादरेनु कायो सुज्ञ पुरंधर विट्ठल ?"

I may be bent; is your name bent, Vitthala? What if the river be crooked; is the water bent? The sugarcane is bent; is its sweetness unstraight? The flower may be curved or bent, not so is its fragrance. The cow is bent; is its milk bent also? The bow is bent; is the arrow bent too? I may be dirty or unclean; there is no dirt or uncleanliness in your name. You are the wise one; what if I am ignorant. You must take under your protection a person situated like me.

He knows that unless he is clear of some things in quality and attitude he cannot gain Mukti It is the negative aspect :

> "Summane bahode mukuti, namma
> Chennadikesavana dayavaguvanaka"[1]

Mukti does not come easily. The mercy of the Lord must open before it does. Only he is chosen on whom His grace falls is an Upanishadic saying. All one's sins must be burnt up. One must move about in the light of understanding. The mind must be freed from all that inflames, if Purandara Vitthala should lend His grace. The more positive features are also mentioned. One is told that one's entire life must bend in one salutation to the Lord. As parallel instance one might mention the stanza where Siva is the Deity to whom the offering is made :

> "Atma tvam; Girija matih; Parijanah pranah; Sariram Grham;
> Puja te vishayopabhogaracana; Nidra samadhisthitih;
> Sancarah padayoh pradakshina vidhauv; stotrani sarva gira;

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[1] "सुम्मनेबाहोदे मुकुति, नम्म
चेन्नादिकेशवन दयवागुवनक"

Yadyat Karma karomi Tattadakhilam Sambho tavaradhanam"[1]*

This most overall—a total presentation made to God daunts the best and most devoted of mankind. "Whatever I do is in worship of you" cannot be spoken by mortal men whose mind, talk and habits are not totally clean. Who has the courage to say all that that stanza speaks of and desires to offer? If that can be done there is nothing more left for man to be or do. The spirit of that life is the feature of the highest evolved soul. Purandara calls upon people to declare that all that is and they have is in service of Hari for there is nothing that is not part of it :

"Sakalavellavu Hariseveyenni
Rukuminiyarasa Vitthalanalladillavenni"[2]

Whatever is said and spoken is the praise of Narayana. All walk is pilgrimage to God. All gifts are rendered to the father of Kama The food served on the plate is the grace of the Lord .. New clothes, the fragrance of flowers, the ornaments worn, the company of beautiful women, all sport and entertainment and feasting, the finest things one has and yes, the strifeful family life—all are but forms of Vitthala. Waking and asleep; the wealth of one's possession; terrible things like poverty are but His expression; the smallest thing—a blade of grass or a stick of wood—are but another form of the perfect Lord and His great-

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[1] "आत्मा त्वम्; गिरिजा मतिः; परिजनाः प्राणाः; शरीरम् गृहम्;
पूजा ते विषयोपभोगरचना; निद्रा समाधिस्थितिः;
सञ्चार पदयोः प्रदक्षिणोविधौ. स्तोत्राणि सर्वागिरा;
यद्यत् कर्म करोमि तत्तदखिलम् शंभो तवाराधनम्"

*Lakshmi for Girija and Vishnu for Sambhu will do as well.

[2] "सकलवेल्लवु हरिसेवेयन्नि
रुकुमिणियरस विट्ठनल्लदिल्लवेन्नि"

ness. No one can describe or detail Him; the One who cuts off the heads of the Rakshasas who set up to fight against Him He is visible to the Pranava.

It is when one's life gets so fully attuned to the Lord that one's mind can visualise the Lord one's master and feel blessed. "Dhanyanade eega nani jagadolu"[1]. He is feeling so blessed now that he has got a piece of instrument which will save him once and forever. "Yantra dorakitu/Yoga yantra dorakitu/Yantravahaka Narayanana/antarangadi nenasuvantha"[2].

Many of the stanzas describe his sense of fulfilment or attainment. Fears came to him any number of times formerly But he has learnt that he need have no cause for fear now for he feels he has the overall protection of the Lord and has regulated his life through contentment with what he has When doubts assail him he has begged for enlightenment. Praise and slander he has learnt to endure "Say that you belong to Govinda; all torments will clear" —he has said to himself And when that has been done, there is nothing more for him to worry about; what does it matter? What in the secular scene can torment?

> "Inthinthaaddellaanu barali/Nis
> cintenmbudu drdhavagirali"[3]

"Let all these things and like ones come; May I be free from care?" is the refrain now. Anything that hurts or disturbs is trivial compared with his love of the Lord "Let all jewellery and things possessed go to rack and the path he is treading miss. May no shelter be found in trees and employment go first of all. Let people kill me with poison and my mind fade; decay. Let kites and dogs tear

[1]"धन्यनादे ईग नानी जगदोलु"

[2]"यत्र दोरकितु/योग यंत्र दोरकितु/यंत्रवाहक नारायणन/अंतरंगदि नेनसुवंथ"

[3]"इथिथादेल्लानु बरलि/निश्चिंतेम्बुदु दृढवागिरलि"

me to pieces and eat me up as food."—The next detail is more difficult for man "May my manhood be taken away from me. Wife and children give me up. May the creditor who lent me money hit me publicly calling me a fool, or I be proclaimed false and a pretender and the skies fall down on me." He goes one step further: "Let nobody trust me and have faith in me; only let the name of Purandara Vitthala remain in my mind for ever." This is the state of mind in which the Dasa feels happy now.

Sometimes he is unconcerned with the things of the earth and considers the whole world as nought A famous song of his in Kannada is :

"Na ninna dhyanadoliralu hina manavarena maduvaro[1]
(Or "hinamanavarinda enaga bahudo")

When I am taken up with meditation of you, what can small men do? Their envy cannot hurt me. Can ants lay siege to and assault the fire? When the war-horse stalks about and rises dust covering half the earth does the dust cover the sun? Can there be opposition on earth to one who forbears? Will the hill shake against the wind? If a thief wants to break the purse reflected in a mirror will he get possession of it? O Purandara Vitthala, when I have my trust in you it is like fire which burns up to purify the dross in the gold. When one is calm of mind, all other passions are laid at rest; they say—Chidyante sarva samsayah—all doubts clear. There is place in his mind and heart only for Krishna or Vitthala. Joy fills his soul. He feels the constant presence of his God; and a joy gives him the sense of blessedness. He has been seeking that all these years and in the possession of it now he attains inexpressible happiness. Awake or asleep this is his condition :

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[1] "ना निन्न ध्यानदोलिरलु हीनमानवरेन माडुवरो"
("हीनमानवरिंद एनागबहुदो")

"Kande na Kanasinali Govindana"[1]

"I have sighted Govinda in my dream. I have seen the feet of Mukunda, son of Nanda where is gold; ruby and jewellery." Then follows a picture of Krishna, of his dress and the details of the ornaments worn by Him, the garland of Tulasi, the ring on the small finger; the wristlet and the armlet, the discuss and the conch. "What handsome pair of lips, now taking the line of teeth? Light opens my eyes and accompanies the talk and the mind is tireless looking on at the little one. How beautiful is the figure of Purandara Vitthala! When I have seen that with my eyes, fear of life and rebirth vanishes."[2]

There was a time when in spite of the renunciation of all worldly goods and desires and he had dedicated himself to the way of realisation he felt like a bird which had found no nest; nor described the track leading to it; he had been feeling broken. He had complained to God that it was not proper to have been given no place in his heaven and he questioned Him why he had got him born on earth; that all the report about His being gracious, forgiving and helpful to the worst of sinners and the stories of His help to devotees failed to strike true when Krishna abandoned him. "Why do you forsake me thus—when you know everything?" Gradually the mists clear; the doubts grow less; the company of good men and other devotees eases his path; the slander and the mockery, the indifference and often the disrespect cease to matter to him. He has cleared all the impurities in his nature; only the thought of his God

[1]"कंडे ना कनसिनलि गोविंदन"

[2]So with a small variation in the other song which says that the figure of Krishna is before his eyes, standing before him and nothing is comparable to this joy in life—"Krishna murti kanna munde nintiddantide."

("कृष्णमूर्ति कण्ण मुंदे निंतिद्दंतिदे")

and master with whom he could talk and argue has been able to remove all other thoughts from his mind. Curiously enough another advantage is gained. The very people who had laughed at him and scoffed at him left him with God's name; they broke him and choked him and cured him of useless hope; they tried him and wearied him and rid him of desire and anger. By much teasing they showed him the way to realisation. For they treated him as a life dedicated to God and would have nothing to do with him. This is contrary to what should have happened to a weaker person in the faith. He had realised that fire and prison and hurt for the body need not cause much fear; nor snake nor poison; nor the edge of the sword; the thing he most dreaded was another's money, another's woman. Ḳaurava for the one and Ravana for the other paid for it and were a sufficient warning. All that has been forgotten now. The thought that at least he is able to feel he has secured the love of the Lord so fully that nothing else matters to him gives him relief and joy ineffable.

He reaches mystic heights. One or two of his songs are described by the mystic philosopher R.D. Ranade as supreme realisation described in the Yoga :

> "Kanninolage nodo Hariva/Ola
> ganninolage mujaga (da) doreya"[1]

"See Him within your eye—with the inner eye—the Lord of the three worlds." The six wheels described in the yoga beginning with Adhara have to be purified; the three Lakshanas should be achieved and one should climb to the Sushumna; penetrate through that and reach Parabrahma. "Look with closed eyelids, high above all, while controlling your breath; look inside and see Hari. Taste the sweetness

[1] "कण्णिनोलगे नोडो हरिय / ओल
गण्णिनोलगे-मूजग (द) दोरेय"

of the draught of His name and gain all the joy of the nine forms of Bhakti He plays in the egg-like cosmos,—the same Narayana who stretches in the solar system. He is at the top of the Kundalini. Our Purandara Vitthala saves and protects. See Hari inside the eye; see with the inner eye."

A more occult-sounding song begins with :

> "Hamsa ninnali ne nodo/Bhava—
> Pasa muktanagi Hariyannu sero"[1]

"The great swan is within you. You can see Him inside. You will be released from the bondage of birth and death and be able to be united with Hari."

We have had a glimpse of Purandaradasa's journey in life and how he went through its trials, tribulations and agony; its doubts and uncertainties; and how in the end he achieved realisation through faith and single-minded devotion to his God. The religious life is not an easy one. It looks simple and speaks simple language and seems to be more direct and easy than the way of Jnana. But it is concentrated—the combined life, attitude and wisdom that comes as a result of all the three other attitudes of Karma, Jnana and Vairagya—for they are all involved in it. To attain that position, one seeks true knowledge; cultivates detachment and renunciation and the Sarvarpana attitude which is the essence of the religious life. All Karma drives to it. A person, who began with a hardened mind transfers affection and loyalty to the religious ideal of life and through years and decades of self-purification, striving and dedication, is able to reach the feet of his Lord. In that journey he has had a full sights and experience of the world—all its distractions, temptations, hypocrises and

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[1] "हम्स निन्नलि नी नोडो/भव-
पाश मुक्तनागि हरियन्नु सेरो"

frivolities and all its doubts and despairs. He has learned to see through them all. When he moves about in the streets he talks to people truly and firmly of what alone can save mankind. The understanding of what is true and false is the essence of all wisdom and in the light of this understanding and his own fulfilment and his own experience he is able to speak to other men and women and help them cleanse their minds, direct their ways and turn their mind and efforts towards God. He has made the journey—that was his purpose in life. There is no rancour or bitterness in his mind. No hatred towards any; neither high nor low, nor rich nor poor to him. Nothing external stops him or pleases him. The truth of the heart, the truth of faith,—these only matter.

At moments, he feels he is luckier than even his Lord and his voice rises detailing it. "I have a father like you, you have none such; I have a Lord like you, you do not have one; I have a king like you, you don't. You are an orphan; I am in my land and belong to you; your queen is Lakshmi and she is my mother. O Purandara Vitthala, whom have you as parents such as I have?" A way of saying indeed! There are other moments when he makes fun of Him and all in love.

It is in moods like these possibly that he sings that his verily is wealth; "Idu Bhagya idu Bhagya idu Bhagya-vayya."[1] Since he has passed through all these stages to realise such a position, he is able to talk to men from depths of experience and kindliness. In the hard river of life on earth, subject to birth, one must be like a piece of rock; and among the mighty, one must be like a bow. Softly should one commend oneself to Madhava and win His heart. One should be like jaggery among one's relations. That is wealth. Wisdom should correct one's mind and

[1]"इदु भाग्य इदु भाग्य इदु भाग्यवय्य"

shape it; one must be a darling of the Munis and yogis and in the sea of the Madhva religion—he has opted for it—one must be a fish; and pure in mind, body and deed. This is wealth. One should be like fire to the grass of sensual pleasure and night and day remember Sri Hari. Among all things in life on this earth, one should serve the servants of Purandara Vitthala. This verily is wealth

There are other sidelights on the process : other by-ways are passed. A typical attitude in the Hindu mind is to consider that all things happening are a result of the Karma of an earlier birth. One feels that none can do anything on this earth when Karma has written it! on one's forehead! A whole series of happenings, otherwise inexplicable leaps up before him. The food cooked gets rotten; husband gives up wife; the wife plays one up; the painted tiger on the wall roars at one and advances to eat; the whole world believes as true the word not even spoken—what can anyone in the world do on earth? Who can help if the mother who has given birth calls to the children and feeds them with poison; or, if the father sells one away; if a servant answers back the king or if darkness turns into a bear, pursues and bites? 'Is that not the result of past Karma?' he asks. If the fence raised to protect the field grazes the crop; if a harmless hare rushes to stab with a horn (unnatural to it); if one's head is hit by one's own hand; if one's bride becomes a snake; a friend an enemy and the parched rice dressed for eating is eaten up by the vessel in which it is dressed, nothing else explains it; it is truly something done in a past birth... If the image in the eye begins to fight or one's woman begins to develop strife or the food that one does not eat causes indigestion!—and sins happen in places of pilgrimages; or one finds that the short wall on which one sits breaks into two and the sea swells overflowing the beach; or cold charcoal burns like

hot fire—the climax is, if Purandara Vitthala's mercy fails to help—who on earth could help?

This sense of helplessness derives from past actions; afflicts practically the whole attitude in India and is used by the Dasas to point to and enforce love of God which alone can save and transmute. This sense of Karma sometimes recounts what has not been done by man that deserved doing. How can even God help a person who hasn't carried out entrusted tasks in common deeds which will commend him to the world and to the Lord? He has not treated a single guest to food, or for a moment been free from the company of others' women; has revelled in food and drink and didn't bother about bath or prayer, but lived the life of a dog? That was wrong company. Only the company of the servants of the Lord can help out; no one else will come to aid; therefore is the appeal made to Purandara Vitthala.

Care afflicts man ever—till—and this is the hope—the mind seeks the company of God. Care is on when one has a wife and when one has not; if the wife is foolish or is surpassingly beautiful; when there is no limit to one's infatuation for her; that one has children or one has not; one is worried if one is poor or rich; or ignorant or learned; even when one has handfuls of gold. The one care should be continuous thought of Him; it is thought of Purandara Vitthala that relieves one totally of care and anxiety.

Sometimes a person pities himself for illusions about his own body and the Dasa asks an old man to think of Vasudeva and be happy. Your teeth have got loose; virility has dried up; women have contempt for you and get sick of you; why are you fond of such a body? Think of the Lord of Lakshmi who alone can bring you happiness. Your feet have lost their fleetness, eyes their power of sight; youth has disappeared and old age has set in; time and

karma unite to keep you down. How can you still entertain the desires of boyhood and youth? This body is like a water bubble and does not last long; do not be deceived by land, money and women. If anything can give you happiness it is thought of Purandara Vitthala.

This is the thought to which his mind ever drives : life and time have been wasted on ineffective things and on wrong valuations; there can be no peace or rest or joy, nor hope of a release from the cycle of birth and death till the mercy of God flows in. "All else lasts but a little time, yields its little sustenance only to betray you. Do not trust this body or its limbs. Thought of God and faith in Him should direct all effort; only that can salvage human life... Death comes before one is aware of it or ready. The messengers of death are not in the least kindly," says a song :

"Antakana dutarige kincittu dayavilla"[1]

"If your time is occupied night and day in lusts of the flesh and festivity you are dodging yourself. If you kill one and earn wealth through such killing you will not know the time at which they come to claim you. No arguments weigh with them You may say—you were married but a few days ago; your two buffaloes have just begun to yield milk; "I have bought a tract of land yesterday; I am expecting crops. I have plenty of money and gold and cannot die"—these arguments do not divert them...You may have built a new house and be just performing home-warming ceremonies; speak of a wife just ripe with child or that you have fixed a son's marriage the next day; "Life is smooth. I am unable to die"—are these excuses to them? You may be celebrating the birthday of your son and arranged to feed a number of persons with milk and dinner; say that

[1] "ग्रंतकन दूतरिगे किंचित्तु दयविल्ल"

another boy of yours is to have his Upanayana—"Life is just smiling I cannot die"—death only laughs from behind. "I haven't eaten the food that I cooked, or met the persons whom I have desired to meet; within a little time the money I have lent out is about to be paid back to me"—these cannot alter the limit of time given to you. It is ordained. Think of Purandara Vitthala within that limit of time

Here is another note : "The clock chimes the hour; all Haridasas, hear; declaring that the life of a person who does not offer worship to God has been wasted..." One cannot believe that music, Raga and Tala by themselves can enforce the message of a stanza like :

> "Hasu manca suppattigeyalli/
> Hagalu irulu hesarakatteyante horali/
> Striyara kudi besarade nityavu uruli/
> I pariyali manusha ayassu/
> Vrtha, vrtha, hoyitu, hoyitu—endu/
> Tasu barisutide keli"[1]

It is so natural and the repetition of words like 'vrtha' and 'hoyitu' enforces a point with its earnestness and links itself organically with the refrain. Again and again, regret comes that men are abject, that one would not enjoy things when God gave it to them; and when not given, are full of moan. The ten thousand pieces of gold one owned—he buried under scrap and ate his food without salt;

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[1]"हासु मंच सुप्पत्तिगेयल्लि
हगलु इरुलु हेसरकत्तेयन्ते होरलि
स्त्रीयर कूडि बेसरदे नित्यवु उरुलि
ई परियलि मानुष आयस्सु
वृथा, वृथा, होयितु, होयितु,—एन्दु
तासु बारिसुतिदे केलि"

and when the gold disappears with the scrap only mud fills the mouth! The only way now for redemption is the mercy of the Lord whom he invokes without considering sins of any kind He is now aware of all his lacks, omissions and commissions. The mind strays in a hundred ways, and desires are vicious. Unworthy things are done. Only the Lord will have to endow him with devotion since bad people, if not worse than himself, the Lord is known to have saved... this cry of invocation appeals to him, his name as the merciful one, is an attribute of God well known and established. Nothing else can argue for him—he is otherwise lost who does not yield himself to His grace.

The servant has now come to the realisation that he should never doubt the goodness of the Lord. He is where His devotees are and will respond to their appeal Here is the maturity to which he advances. One is not an orphan or poor while He is available. He is father and mother, the chosen friend and all the relations, all the diamonds and jewellery in the box—He protects and sustains and He is the aid to wife and children; the Guru who educates; the Master who counsels, the Redeemer. Why is such one an orphan when the great Lord of the three worlds is father and Lakshmi is mother? He is the guru in three incarnations.

When this feeling comes to him he agrees and learns to live content accepting whatever is given to him, desirous of no other office or position. He decides not to entertain a care. For the one who gives is not this man or that, but the Lord Himself :

"Koduva Karta bere iralu/bidu bidu cinteyanu"[1]

comes with an assured, protective and consoling voice. All that one can do is to shape and correct oneself to be acceptable to Him—which means cleansing oneself and waiting

[1]"कोडुव कर्तं बेरे इरलु/बिडु बिडु चिंतेयनु"

in hope and trust and in peace of mind He begins to think of the ways and means of doing that and gradually, therefore, divests himself of all that smacks of mere external form. . The pictures of pretence are mentioned. Howsoever falsely one demonstrates and disguises oneself the great one can see through it. Loudness and extravagance drop before Him. Only the grace of the Lord can cleanse. Crying out to him endlessly simply saying that one is lost or putting oneself to torments and austerity, refraining from strife, avoidance and indifference and non-involvement do not help; nor, certainly No reproaches of Vitthala or cursing of Fate avail if one howls like a dog before every house. Why do people put on such false disguises?

Krishna will never approve of the ungenuine devotion. No amount of somersaulting or rolling over the ground or chattering like a monkey will commend itself to Him. How often do people think that the externals of piety and orthodoxy will compensate for the true life of a lover of God. "Oppanayya, Hari Meccanayya."[1] How superior do people feel that they just get up early in the morning, dip daily in the river in the coldest winter for a bath--a crow does it—one paints himself with coloured mud, decorates his body and skin and brands himself with all sorts of marks and signs like a buffalo gone sick. Forms are all right; but words hide jealousy and rancour. The mind is full of poison. Externally he bows, like the toad on the tree. He spreads his casket full of God's idols and sounds bells like an ox tied up in the manger. But a total, all giving devotion, is lacking What is the best solution to one who would make himself acceptable? Trust, wait, understand and shut up simply till the love of God flows over you.

[1] ओप्पनय्य हरि मेच्चनय्य

"Hari, ninnolumeyu aguva tanaka
Aritu summagiruvude lesu"[1]

Never has a true believer been rejected by God :

"Nambi kettavarillavo, nambade kettare kedali"[2]

Those who do not trust or have faith in Hari may be lost, not the genuine ones The genuine one would even argue with his Lord and impose on God conditions Has not the servant decided to abide by the conditions laid down by the Master? It is almost a bond between the two signed and sealed before the devotees of the world Neither should violate his part of the terms :

"Enagu ane, ninagu ane
Enagu ninagu ibbarigu Bhaktara ane"[3]

(The bond is on me; and on you; the devotees bind both of us.)

Here are the terms The devotee says: "If I leave you and worship another, mine is the violation. If you let drop my hand and go, you will be violating the pact. I shall not cheat with body, mind or wealth. If you do not let my mind stay with you, you will be doing wrong. If I make friends with evil men I break the pact; if you do not take me away from the world and its life, you will have broken it. If I do not seek refuge, O Hari, in you, I shall have done wrong O Purandara Vitthala, if you do not favour me with your affection you will have done wrong—broken the bond."

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[1] "ह्रि निन्नोलुमेयु श्रागुवतरक
श्ररितु सुम्मगिरुवुदे लेसु"

[2] "नबि केट्टवरिल्लवो, नंबदे केट्टरे केडलि"

[3] "एनगु श्राणे, निनगु श्राणे"
एनगु निनगु इब्बरिगु भक्तर श्राणे"

Sometimes, the devotee feels that his God owes him a debt, insists on being granted his demands and will not go without the gift :

"Ni kode, Na bide"[1]

"You give not and I will not be denied." He has held fast to the Lord; who else will take him up—if the Lord gives him up? It would not be fair for the Lord to forget those who have centred all their faith on Hari, considering Him the final refuge. The same person, who on an earlier occasion—when he began his novitiate—almost had said that his failures and mistakes were limitless, now turns round to say :

"Aparadhi nanalla, aparadhavenagilla/
Kapata nataka sutradhari nine"[2]

So certain is he that he is not the guilty one; for all things on earth are directed and controlled by the Lord. All things move, have their being and play their part as directed by Him. Sometimes in his talk with his Lord he enters mild protests saying that no one lived or survived after putting full trust in Him In pursuit of God's ways "Aru badukidarayya Hari ninna nambi"?[3] So many of the illustrious ones were destroyed Was not Karna killed without developing strife? The whole Kaurava clan was destroyed. Bali was suppressed; Putani died who came to suckle you as child; the father of Tamradhwaja lost his head; Bhrgu had his eyes put out; Naraka was destroyed and his women became Krishna's He extracts tributes from Dasas who go

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[1]"नी कोडे, ना बिडे"

[2]"अपराधि नानल्ल, अपराधवेनगिल्ल
कपटनाटक सूत्रधारि नीने"

[3]"आरु बदुकिदरय्य हरि दिन्न नंबि ?"
(Does and does not contradict the other song on p. 84.)

begging themselves. O King, Purandara Vitthala, the one who puts his entire trust in you finds that even an answer is denied to him.

There is another common feeling with all the Dasas—for a similar, perhaps crisper, song of the same kind was written earlier by Vyasaraya, whose firm belief was that one who does not see Hari inside himself is like a person born blind and the one who does not hear the story of Krishna is dull of mind and deaf. Ascriptions like these are then detailed, indicating that the one who does not prefer the thought, the praise, the offering not directed to God is a deficient person. The food eaten unblessed as offering to God is hog-feed. That a deed not done as dedicated to Krishna, the Lord of the Gods, is like the austerity of an unchaste woman :

> "Amaresa Krishnagarpitavallada Karma
> Asatiya vrata nemavo"[1]

Music that is not in praise of God is but the bray of the ass. When God Lord is available it does not behove us to serve and worship men.

This man understands things more deeply, more largely and knows how the greatest men on earth and in virtue have suffered at the hand of Fate and how the ignorant ones and fools have felt that Hari is their strength and support. How many of the brave have not suffered at its hand—Hariscandra was forced into distress and humiliation; it waited like the crocodile for the king of the elephants; the Pandavas were driven to the forests; Sita was captive in Lanka; Siva himself was driven to the cremation ground. Common men need not therefore fuss

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[1] "अमरेश कृष्णगर्पितवल्लद कर्म
असतिय व्रत नेमवो"

or worry about suffering and loss. What may not happen to them "Indidanu tilidare narara padenu"[1]—When fate torments, all things happen that should not have happened. It taught some theft, lies and lust. It brought in pain, cold, fire and disease. Our Purandara Vitthala won a victory over fate. The process of how this was done is the process of chastening and ripening that Purandaradasa gave himself. It is born of understanding, knowledge of limits, certainty of the goal and continual striving for the grace of the Lord.

[1] "इंदिदनु तिलिदरे नरर पाडेनु"

VI. CONDUCT OF LIFE

THE BODY IS treated as no doubt inferior to the mind and soul as in all religions. There are songs which speak of the dirt, the viciousness and yet the attractions which the human body entails; no opportunity is lost to say how a living thing comes out of parts considered dirty and inferior. That is used to call men's attention away from extreme indulgence in the pleasures of the flesh. The saints have all fancied that minds will be diverted from flesh by treating it disgustingly. But the Dasa knows too that it is because of the body and life on earth that the life higher gets a meaning and all the ground for self-improvement and the redemption forms. That's why in addition to saying he should not trust it, the Dasa proclaims that a proper appreciation of it helps in the conduct of life.

One of his telling songs says :

"Manava janma doddadu
Ida hani madalu bedi huccappagalira"[1]

"The birth as a human being is a big piece of luck. You will be fools if you injure or harm it." He desires them not to waste the opportunity on trival satisfactions One only should take one's mind away from the temptations of the earth, land and money and women for these lead to false living and to weakness. None of them save when death calls.

In his own life he has felt how the inclinations of men are towards pleasure and profit and how hard it is to take the mind away from allurements. A hundred are the ways

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[1]"मानव जन्म दोड्डु
इद हानि माडलु बेडि हुच्चप्पगलिर"

in which these fascinations hold us in thrall. It is only the company of the clean, the goodly and godly men that can take us away from the coarser pre-occupations of life. Mere ritual, orthodoxy and piety cannot save us from the toils in which we get caught. They only darken counsel giving us a "Holier-than-you" attitude; one of unwisdom, making one unnecessarily proud. There is a saying with us that the snake does not die by beating the ant-hill. The snake itself must be caught and destroyed So too—severe austerities, baths, fasts, vigils, mumbling of mantras or singing of songs, forms of worship and ceremonials will not do good till one's life becomes clean and directed to the thought of God He is full of warning to persons who trust the possession of the Earth :

> "Neccadiri bhagya arigu sthiravalla
> Neccadireccarike"[1]

"Wealth and power do not last for ever; put not your trust in them. Do not swell in pride or joy when you gain position; only then will you gain the esteem of men, Do not be proud that the trust and regard of a king keeps always and get careless Power is like a pot carried by a blind one; in the end it does not do good. Do not be wayward and fickle or put another to indignity. Do not pass by and move forward without hearing of the hardships of the poor. Whatever the heights reached, such cautions must be kept in mind. Do not ever set others in enmity against you with the feeling you have gained the love of the king. It will be like the condition of a snake besieged by white ants; they bite it to death. To the best of your endeavour bow your head at the feet of the elders and the Gurus The light of wealth gets put out in the storm of the world's humiliation.

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[1] "नेच्चदिरी भाग्य ग्रारिगू स्तिरवल्ल
नेच्चदिरेच्चरिके"

Best be warned about it. It is always wise to live in fear of them—and be inhibited by public opinion. Infamy did not absolve the Great Indra of the Heavens himself. Evil men speak and spread slander. Let not your anger be roused against men and things by that. Mother Earth shakes in fear when she hears such harsh language. What happened to Nala and Mandhata? The body dies; only good name survives The gold you earn by exposing others to grief will not remain ever. During the little time you are alive help the poor; do not treat them with contumely

Endless are the instances the Dasa produces in other songs to illustrate these points. His earnestness persuades. Two or three songs speak of the overmuch love of women and wealth, addiction to which is the most common weakness of men, though he—the Dasa—is not totally against the good things that money—*Rokka*—does or can do; and the influence that a good woman or wife can be in one's life. Has he not himself been served nobly and redeemed by one? But when a final evaluation has to be made one finds that all that men value as possession and joy as cause of satisfaction normally is hollow like a bubble which bursts. Elephant, horse, servants, army, treasure, the company of beautiful women; courtiers and triumphant generals, pearl, ruby and gold are empty and futile: "Lolalotte baduku/Lola lotte"[1]—Umbrella, chowri are empty; grandeur before fort-wall and trenches round them and all the men by whom surrounded, relations and friends; lola lotte; life is insubstantial.

Yet Purandaradasa doesn't want us to discard them saying that they are totally worthless. They have to be accepted—and life on earth, when one is born as a human being, must be lived well. When somebody talked depre-

[1]"लोललोट्टे बदुकु/लोललोट्टे"

cating the mud and the earth the Dasa bursts out :

"Manninda kaya—Manninda"[1]

All material body is made of earth; all philosophies are born of it; there is no ground on which to stand for those who give it up; what gives food and drink and banquets is mud; colour, gold and treasure are mud; the highest hill on earth is made of it; Kailasa, where the three-eyed Siva lives is mud; temple, monastery and house are alike mud. The pot in which food is cooked is mud; the forts and battlements of the strongest are mud; the banks of the sacred Ganga are mud; paddy and sustenance in grain grow but of mud; burial-ground and crematory are mud; and,—this without exception!—the supreme Vaikuntha itself is mud! The home town of Purandara Vitthala is mud. To a mind so free from narrowness and constrictions nothing causes worry. If at any time the mind is agitated or disturbed it is but the irritation of a moment not grounded in the tenor of life. That's why he says

"Eesa beku, Iddu jayisa beku"[2]

One should swim across; live and win—which is the pithiest way in which a male attitude can be given to men. True, "Samsara" is dirty and disgusting. But if one lives without desire and too much ambition one can get clear of it and beyond it. That is the path and attitude; such is the access to the path; the famous image of the lotus in water is here the similitude; or one should live like the seed on the cashew fruit. The negative image would be : live without being deceived like the fish that is caught by the bait at the end of the angle cast to get it into trouble. What hurts is the sight of men lost without thought in the

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[1] "मण्णिंद काय—मण्णिंद"

[2] "ईसबेकु इद्द जैसबेकु"

pursuit of pleasure, in animalism as it appears and in things that degrade human life Sensual pleasure tires and does not fully satisfy or quench the thirsts or passions; they make life and mind unstable and betray men into evil paths and conduct.

On the other side are the pretenders or the hypocrites who are the worse species, who, knowing that there is a better, pose like the better ones to impress the world with external form of behaviour, while inside they are rotten. One of the most popular songs of the Dasa is :

(R-Vasanta)

"Udara vairagyavidu
namma Padumanaabhanali
Lesha bhakutiyilla"[1]

Their distaste for things and pleasures and detachment is a pose; it is their stomach in disguise; they have the least devotion to our Padmanabha. How many forms do these pretenders not take : they get up early in the morning; shiver with cold and when asked why they shiver—say, they have bathed in the river; it is big joy to them to say so. Their insides are full of conceit, rancour and jealousy. Those who stand on the bank are lost in admiration seeing so much piety. So to impress is their purpose! Others of the kind offer worship elaborately. They set apart places of worship and spread in them idols of what they call Gods made of brass and bell-metal. They light up lamps to illumine the shining metal; all show. Others carry strings of beads in their hands, mutter mantras, cover their faces with pieces of cloth; inside their minds they are but

[1] "उदर वैराग्यविडु
नम्म पडुमनाभनल्लि
लेश भकुतियिल्ल"

recollecting the features and charms of women. Look at them; how disinterested they seem! The devotion they show is pseudo, making people feel that such a one is verily honest with none to equal them The outward show of integrity is like that of an actress on the stage. What else are all these but a way of making a living and enjoyment?

Many are such scenes on earth and it takes a lot of time for some of the best of men to get beyond this disparity between appearance and reality. If one has to emerge clean and whole, one has to sublimate one's thoughts and attitudes and that can only be done by setting up higher purposes for realisation and striving towards them. Such a purpose, the Dasa says, consists in renouncing the pleasures and temptations of the eye and the mind seeking the company of the wise; attributing all things that happen to the impulsion of God. One should quietly and undisturbed take to the contemplation of Purandara Vitthala and value all action done without thought of God as false and useless.

Purandaradasa is taken up with a number of signs, sounds, thoughts, attitudes and behaviour in society and in individual life Whenever he talks to men and women or sights them, he tells them the difference between the true and the false; the really clean and the godly and their opposite. The impulses to conduct have to be cleansed and until this is done, life cannot be better.. this makes him speak hard of those who think that one should not pollute oneself looking at or at the company of *Holeyas*,[1] which unfortunately was a class of out-castes in society But *hole* is not merely a class word; the room in which a mother is delivered of a child is holemane in the highest castes People

[1]Mercifully the community has now declared against the use of the term *Holeya* and *Maliger* untouchable. A saner, juster behaviour of others towards them is being worked for. The law forbids today. So is the one when a lady in monthly sickness stays.

also reserve a room inside their houses for installing and worshipping their gods to keep out unclean persons. Is not anger in the human body dirt i.e. hole?—is not the wealth belonging to another and the wife of another dirt? If one hides the dirt outside and inside one's own body what treatment could cure it? O Purandara Vitthala—he asks.

There are at least two or three songs which deal directly with the Holeya, the dirty or outcaste; one :

> "Holeya holati ivaravaralla
> Holageriyu holeyana holatiyındalla"[1]

and two :

> "Holeya horagihana—Olagillave
> Sale sastravanu tilidu ballavaru heli"[2]

The *Holeya* and *Holati*—the holeya man and woman—are not those others. He is a holeya who gets into the toils of life and talks harsh words to parents; she is a holati who brings forth sons and in the insolence of her elderness hates her husband; he who learns arts and sastras but causes strain to his elders; the woman who favours another than her man and develops friction against him; one who makes it a point to argue with his master and talks disobediently; the woman who neglects a husband reduced to poverty, etc.

In the second song, a clearer description of the one who deserves to be so called is detailed. He who undertakes a vow and does not carry it out; who though servant resents a king; who does not pay back his debts; who harms the people who have brought him up; who does not give

[1]"होलेय होलति इवरवरल्ल
होलगेरियु होलेयन होलतियिंदल्ल

[2]"होलेय होरगिहने—ओलगिल्लवे
सले शास्त्रवनु तिलिदु बल्लवरु हेलि"

liberally in charity while his wealth lasts; who poisons to kill; who boasts that he is pure; whose words and behaviour are rude lacking in culture and refinement; who promises help and breaks it; who cheats and hurts the lives of many; who lies; who knows proper forms of pious behaviour but does not keep to them; the worst sinner is he who stretches desire to others' women. Birth as holeya or brahman does not make a person a true brahman or a real holeya. It is character and conduct that settle the real worth. The valuation is moral.[1]

This again : Do you see the outcasts only outside the village? Is there no outcaste within? He is an outcaste who has learnt but does not impart learning; who owns but does not give in charity; who borrows but is unwilling to repay; who talks scandal and spreads it abroad; who sows discord between husband and wife; who rouses hopes and breaks his promise; who forgets help received; who sees injustice but will not cure it; who decries others and praises himself; who does not worship Purandara Vitthala...Are there outcastes only outside the village? Is there no outcaste within?[2]. So on it goes.

There are people—at all times—who call themselves utterly clean and shun contact with others :

> "Madi madi endu muru maru haruti
> Madi elli bante bikanasi"[3]

Cleanliness (literally keeping free from pollution) is in yourself and so is uncleanliness. "O worthless one, blasted be your pretence of cleanliness. The bone, skin and the excretories give you pleasure. The nine gates are full of

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1". cp.Mahabharata : Vrittena; na vittena (dhanena) or Vidyaya.

2"Masti Venkatesa Iyengar, 'Popular Culture in Karnataka', page 72.

3"मडि मडि एन्दु मूरु मारु हारुत्ति
मडि एल्लि बंते बिक्नासी"

dirt; and you revel in them. O, the comforts they bring!; there is the pollution at birth and at death—you stand between them; if you simply get a dip in the Kaveri will the pollution go? It is inside you :

"Carmava toledare karmavu hohude
Marmava tilidire Bikanasi"[1]

Will the dirt of the Karma go if you wash the skin? Why do you not understand the true meaning of things?

"Madi madi endu adigadige haruvi/
Madi maduva bage berihudu (untu)"[2]

You call yourself pious and clean and try to jump from one thing to another and will not touch or let anything touch you, in its name. There is a different way to do that: to meditate It is not cleanlines if you dip your cloth in the water and tie it round yourself,—after you have had a dip. That is cleanliness which renounces desire and anger, lust and jealousy seated in your body and mind. The sacred or the holy days are the tenth and the twelfth in a fortnight and one should offer special worship to Vasudeva during those days One should be afraid of the real impurities like eating food that belongs to others. When good people go to your house at noon hungry and bathed you deny them food saying that you can't afford food for them and yourself have a sumptuous meal afterwards. Do not trust this body of yours. Try to make yourself clean by ridding yourself of the sins you are guilty of; think of the Lord Too many pretend to be pious and devoted while at heart they are unclean.

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[1] "चर्मव तोलेदरे कर्मवु होहुदे
मर्मव तिलिदरे बिकनासी"

[2] "मडि मडि एन्दु अडिगडिगे हारुवि/
मडि माडुव बगे बेरिहुदु"

What bad time have we come to? We have been born as men and have forgotten Hari :

"Enayiti Janake
Mounavadu kavidante"[1]

They have been struck dumb! What has happened to these people? Have the sharp strong thorns of the *Neggilu* plant stitched up their tongues? Did a ghost catch them when they were children ? Have their two lips fastened together? Has untimely death at home taken away the lustre of their lives? Has a cobra bitten them and its poison rushed into their system? Or their tongue got bitten between their teeth? Are they unable to utter the name of Hari because of the minds dirtied by spite or stubbornness; or have they a crooked or unstable mind? Why can't they speak the name of Hari? Will their head fall from their necks? Or hasn't Brahma written a lucky fate on their foreheads? If they remember the Lord of Lakshmi, will the thunderbolt smite or burn them down?

This is an evil time really. The Kali age! How it flourishes! People forget Hari and praise petty men;find fault with their teachers and the elders; do not listen to their father and mother who have brought them up; endlessly listen to the words of women; they do not speak what they see; speak what they should not; betray the folk who have fed them. Will not offer a rupee in aid of anything even when one begs of them and praises their virtues; they give large sums to those who put pressure on them; thieves are their friends; they yield to lies; cheat the good; do not give the least help to the orphans and have-nots, but feed the rich ones with sweets. They deceive the wives they have married; give up the gods of their clan and offer obeisance

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[1]"एनायिती जनके
मौनवदु कविदंते"

to miserable godlings—this is ever the recurrent tale.

Such time can be and is today as it was in those days; and, so the lesson is as pat for us. In all ages in India, during the period of the Upanishads, the Dialogues of the Buddha, the time of the Subhashitas, the Virasaiva Vacanakaras all have spoken the same things and the same has come from Kabir, Surdas and Ekanath What stalks before us every day tells us that the malaise is the same. And not alone here but almost everywhere. The Kali is on and has to be fought if ever men desire to be salvaged :

"Tasu barisutide keli"[1]

The bell is ringing the time; harken to the call. O men, it tells you that you roll day and night in soft beds and on cots and in the company of women every day of your life and are not tired. The time to go is coming; childhood, youth and old age are all wasted. Much time was spent without discrimination and dullness of mind. Much in feeding, in company and in sleep—no time is devoted to the worship of the Lord; the bell rings to tell you that. If in a song like "Hariyanu neneyada narajanmaveke ? sri hariya kondadada nalige eke?"[2] "What is the use of a man's life, if he doesn't remember God or of the tongue that does not praise Him?" A number of such futilities is detailed in the following stanzas. This example will indicate—what is the use of orthodox conduct not enlivened by truth or cleanliness, i.e. of knowledge unaccompanied by purity of mind of worship without devotion, of an assembly which does not contain good and wise men; of a Sanyasa which is not free from rancour, or rich dishes offered with-

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[1] "तासु बारिसुतिदे केलि"

[2] "हरियनु नेनेयद नरजन्मवेके ?
श्रीहरिय कोंडाडद नालिगेयेके ?"

out affection? Of a brahmin home without the blessing of the Veda and Sastra? What is Kshatra to one who fears to fight? Of no delight is living when one is plagued by debt? Wealth is useless—without children in the family. Relations are no use who don't come out with timely help, and the company of a wife not happily matched. Why should one have children who give up the parents? How can one serve a king who strays from virtue? Futile is anger to an orphan and the teacherhood of a person who does not offer helpful advice in understanding a situation. And, above all, of eyes which do not without fail look on the beautiful form of Purandara Vitthala

Here is another. Who can appreciate the sweetness of Hari Bhakti—except those who have felt its joy? They are sheep in human form :

> "Haribhakuti sukhavu anubhavigallade—Mikka
> Naragurigalu adara swadava ballave?"[1]

Can the bullock which carries the load taste the coconut on its back or a sheep eat it with satisfaction? The rich date is a sweet fruit for those who know it. Only the tasters of cow's milk know its sweetness, not a sucker like the tick; the bee knows the fragrance of the lotus. The frogs near it eternally yet do never get it. A dog cannot appreciate the Pancamrta, nor a donkey appreciate the song of a musical discourse A blind man cannot appreciate light; or a silly one the beauty of language. A deaf person cannot enjoy the lilt of a song. A pearl necklace is nothing to a monkey; so too a stupid person cannot value properly the greatness of Purandara Vitthala.

It is not wealth or birth or even education that is

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[1] "हरिभकुतिसुखवु अनुभविगल्लदे—मिक्क
नरगुरिगलु अदर स्वादव बल्लवे?"

important; nor the age of the man. "Varusha Karanavalla"[1] is the refrain of a song. Salvation cannot come to every person. Preparation for it shall precede it, superseding it additionally if the grace of Cannakesava descends on a person. The requirements are many; both mental and physical. In the process of self-purification, no bitterness, spite or doubt should enter...

Dharma alone will triumph is another title. What kind is it—is the discrimination of the Dasa. Feed with varied dishes a person who has tried to poison you; look after one whom you hate; sing the praise of and bless the person who lies to you and deprives you of your home; call your son with the name of the man who has robbed you of all you have had (another version tells us that the son should be named after the worst enemy one has); thank and praise those who blame you from behind and make friends with one who puts you in prison. He who understands the heart of Dharma ought to praise those who oppose his stand and make friends with a killer. So it goes on Rank unwisdom to secular men; but, telling us how hard the path of Dharma is : how long-standing are its problems and how far away from performance! Men have been as far away from the idea throughout the ages :

> "Janami-Dharmam na ca me pravrttih
> Janami Adharman na ca me nivrttih"[2]

is an ancient reflection on human conduct. A confession that does not retrieve itself! But that's the only thing that a saint can call us to. He tells us what is substantive good and what is false and a betrayal. The right understanding and the right life can be the only way out of much of the

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[1] "वरुष कारणवल्ल"

[2] "जानामि धर्मम् न च मे प्रवृत्तिः
जानामि अधर्मम् न च मे निवृत्तिः"

misery of the earth Again and again the Dasa addresses the mind or a limb of the body about its proneness to the wrong things. He addresses a few words to the tongue and calls upon it to renounce pettiness :

> "acaravillada *nalige*—*ninna*/
> Neeca gunava bidu, *nalige*"[1]

How shameless and without restraint does it stretch to utter things it should not ! You do not think twice before blaming another. Speak only what is true, do not utter falsehood even when kicked. Other such things that the tongue delights in but are wrong and bad are detailed and it is asked to persuade itself to speak only things connected with Lord Purandara Vitthala

The point however is recognised that no dirt or uncleanliness can be washed off till the mind gets washed :

> "Malavu toleyaballade
> Manavu toleyadanaka"[2]

which is further elaborated in a song like

> "Tanuva nirolagaddi phalavenu"[3]

Of what use is the dipping of one's body in the waters when devotion is not firm in the mind? The bath which cleans the body merely is not the real bath; the real bath is of the deed; that of the thought, that of good company, which devotes itself to the highest. It is difficult to fix the mind whose tendency is to wander. Going to Kasi is easy, and to wander about at will. Burn up desire; perform Japa

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[1] "आचारविल्लद, नालिगे—निन्न
नीचगूणव बिडु, नालिगे"

[2] "मलवु तोलेयबल्लदे
मनवु तोलेयदनक"

[3] "तनुव नीरोलगद्दि फलवेनु"

and Tapa It is easy to fast and to bathe and to give in charity. But to settle the mind on one thing and that on God is hard. Like many another saint, he speaks of the mind as a mad dog :

"Huccu kunni manave—huccu gombudu ghanave"[1]

Another song cautions the mind to be careful, if it should gain the company of the servants of God. What it should see and devote itself to, what it should renounce and be free from; what it should remember and what forget—get frequent mention. How the temptations take it away from the right path and how pleasant it is to be lured! The deer, the cuckoo, the elephant, the fish, the moth, the bee—have all their lures and move only to doom and death which stalks about. Before death catches you redeem your life and do not get lost. No wealth, position or power will save. Was not Hariscandra forced to serve on the cremation ground for a few grains of corn and just for a half haga fee after losing all his wealth? To what end came Ravana who had subdued the Gods and reduced them to be servants of his will? Karna, who used to get 18 crores of gold pieces every dawn but gave it away in charity before noon and became poor. One may have silver cups and bowls and heaps of gold might pile up where one sits. In a minute all this wealth may disappear. Like the moonlight on the new moon day all go dark What saves can only be the thought and the grace of God

The Dasa is a member of the male world Along with a number of things he has spoken to men he cautions women, —and against the fall of both. An ancient principle about which man is being reminded is that the sin of the husband does not devolve on the wife but that the sin of the wife bears on the husband. While the wife gets a share of the

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[1]"हुच्चुं कुन्नि मनवे—हुच्चुगोंबुडु घनवे"

merit earned by the husband, the husband does not get any share in the merit of the wife. This means a double responsibility on the husband. The desire of man for woman leads him to a number of sorrows where woman makes man helpless and rushes him into illusions which betray him. As mother and wife she holds him in bondage to her; as wife and daughter she becomes the source of much weakness and selfishness. She is almost an enemy in friendly guise who yields him satisfaction for a moment and drags him from eternal Mukti; comes in the way of honour and worth on earth; and so becomes the cause of a hundred births. He warns men against the finely parted hair on the woman's forehead; pleasure is best from a distance; for, very easy is the yielding to the desires of the flesh; much of what is spoken about woman and her power and her ways and how she must be controlled and how one must control oneself faced by her is complimentary to neither.

One picture of a difficult, wrong type of woman is interesting : consorting with a woman, who is not devoted to her husband. "You do not have pleasure; vrata is lost; sukha is not gained." She doesn't stand up respectfully[1] when he comes home; nor speak with respect; she sets herself up to teasing him everywhere in all company—hers is like the enmity of eleven cobras. When she could feel that the income is a welcome ten she depreciates ten as if it were one; turns her face away saying "there is nothing in the house for the day"; and says it with insolence! What have we in the house to give the children; the babies have no clothes; no silver or gold for herself or for them. She is young in years and has been ruined and cheated being married to him The company of such a stuck-up woman

[1]Why must she?—We may ask today. The Dasa is of the 16th century. Men may expect it today. Who gives? She takes it—can easily be answered.

brings disgrace to the family. What else would she have? She would drive away one's mother; send the father away; keep the cousin out of the house; "let us get out of here to a separate house we shall build", says she. Ways like these hurt your self-respect and dignity... In a popular song against which all women will certainly be angry—"Satige swatantra kodabeda"[1]—do not let your wife have freedom —further extensions of such description are given. But it is the picture of life with a wrong type of woman in any family. Women will rise up now perhaps and write their tirade against the husbands. The Dasa will have a bad day!

How foolish are men that they become guilty of things which they ought to keep alone for long or trust their wealth in the hands of another; who lend money to relations; who in old age marry a young wife. How *pat* are sights like these : the one who milks a cow whose calf is dead Is he wise who lends without security or the one who goes to live in the home of his wife or who sells his daughter to keep himself alive? The list goes on. Here is a gem or two.

> "Ikkalare; kai enjalu/
> cikka makkalu alutave, hogu Dasayya"[2]—

Here is a picture of denial. Anything can be an excuse for not giving; or the woman says she is cleaning the pots or sweeping the floor; "the master of the house is not at home; the child on the lap is being suckled, don't disturb me now", or this: "I can't take out the rice stocked in the attic; good lord, I am suffering from a tummy-ache" or "I am in periods, do not press"; or "corn prices are high; what we have is not enough for children, go" she says. The

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[1] "सतिगे स्वातत्व्य कोडबेड"

[2] "इक्कलारे कै येंजलु/
चिक्क मक्कलु भलुतावे होगु दासय्य"

Dasa is full of amusement at a picture like this.

When the Bhagavata—(i.e , the singer) asks for some lime at another place he is answered that the supply in her house was used up for white-washing the wall just the previous day. Or, "My husband doesn't chew pan; he is ill. You can look at my own mouth and see I don't chew .. This is a wretched house that I have got into, with only sorrow to feed on. The house is being denuded of everything purchasing medicine for the brother-in-law who has become a dud; the husband's elder brother smokes opium and sits in, closing the doors, causing all sorts of trouble. Worse still is the mother-in-law, an unjust woman. The father-in-law is a leper; a cruel and deceitful woman is the sister-in-law. They deserve to die and I wish them dead for having put me to such sorrow." The account is unrelieved and endless, all this comes out of the lips of the woman, when asked small alms!

Another picture of a woman who cannot make a happy married life with a Vaidika (priestly) husband is interesting. She would rather jump into water and drown. She has no clothes or jewels to wear; hates to wear the bad saris he brings home. Her arms have strained through cooking flour-meal for him. "Life is indeed hard. No, I do not like a Vaidika husband. He flourishes deer skin on his shoulders, holds a small narrow necked drinking vessel in his hand as he struts about and does not care so much as to look at me even if I confront him on the streets. Not a word of this is untrue. Does he ever give me a glad eye? Or speak to me love? This only tells me, mother, that in an earlier birth I have not worshipped my God properly."

Another woman speaks of her inability to live with an old fellow for husband "Good Lord, what hardship! I should get up at dawn and warm the water for him; grind his baje (acorus calamus) for lather properly; pound into

pulp the pansupari for he has no teeth to chew with; his bamboo stick must be kept ready in front of him; the old are prone to billiousness and nausea; off and on, his spittle has to be thrown out; the food eaten by him must be made particularly soft; and I need to press him again and again to eat; a rough bed must be made smooth; for ever fade before him. Tears are my lot having to crumple up in a corner before him seeking protection only from Purandara Vitthala."

Once when he went along the streets and grain was given, it was ragi.[1] This was unusual. Yet this is something after all; the Dasa plays upon the word Ragi ('ar' is a plural suffix for men and women and 'Agi' is an imperfect verbal suffix for optative as well) and works out into a call upon them to be worthy and charitable men and women to be good, wise, free from passion, earnest and devoted to Purandara Vitthala.

On another day the Dasa gets into a house and asks for food and calls upon the lady to cook it for him quickly—that is how it is presented—for he is hungry. "My eyes are getting dark; hands and feet are getting numb. Do not keep me long, mother. Cook me at least a morsel. My breath is not strong inside; within a minute this life may cease to be. A handful of rice will bring you fame. If you offer heaps and heaps of gold and help in the marriage of a crore of maidens that will not be of equal merit with giving food to such a one in need."[2]

But the Dasa is not without some innocent fun about the

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[1]Grain out of which meal is cooked in poor homes.

[2]The word "Annadana" and the value attached to it saved India from economic revolutions. The country and its rulers forget the point today. The consequences of making food dear and denying food to those in need will be a sure cause of disaster—whatever else they do or not.

economy of the Universe. He speaks of the existence of the wicked. They are like the thorny Jali tree: There is no shelter under it for the weary and the tired under the sun; no fruit for the hungry; no fragrance of flower; no place to sit; will the wrong-smelling swine of the town be free from smell if they be dressed and decorated? Is there any advantage even to the garden where it grows? Even brilliance of words is absent in their talk.

This is supplemented by another song :

> "Nindakairabeku/Handi iddare hyange
> Keri shuddhiyo hange"[1]

"We must have slanderers on earth; can the town be clean without a pig? The day's dirt and sin they will feed on."[2]

If there are evil men on earth the good men will get the praise May they be there for ever. I beg of you Krishna folding my hands for such as these.

Whenever he meets a person in a situation which needs a friendly word or one of admonition or caution, or when truth has got to be spoken the Dasa tells him kindly and in affection, but plainly what can help and save.

The Dasa can startle with a pun He is a devout Brahmin and normally cannot touch the food offered by a Muslim. A song begins:

> "Turukaru karedare unabahudanna
> Turukaru karedare unabahudu"[3]

—at the first blush sensational!—"Turukaru" would be the

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[1] "निंदकरिनबेकु/हंदि इद्दरे ह्यागे
केरि शुद्धियो हांगे—"

[2] It is a rural society in picture here and old times

[3] "तुरुकरु करेदरे उणबहुदण्ण
तुरुकरु करेदरे उणबहुदु"

Muslims; or the cows turu and karu. "Kare" is both to call or invite and milking the cow. The stanzas take up the meaning with the cows milking and plenty. He speaks of all the manifold benefits to society by cows yielding milk in plenty. A jingle of refrain 'Tande, nee tande—na bande ninna hinde—Father, you brought me! and I came following you' shows that sound repetition and play of internal rhyme produce pretty effects of expression in sound and meaning.

Pure fun is an address to a dog which is unique in Kannada literature. The Dasa picks up a dog moving about the streets :

"Donku balada nayakare/nivenenutava madidiri"[1]

"O bent-tailed Mr., could you detail to me the food you have eaten?", the second line producing a humorous effect in its articulation.

"You go to the place where dough is pounded and peep in. The person there hits you with the pestle. You come out howl and sing a doleful song You go to the kitchen, where kicadi is made and look humble with bent head; if you are beaten with the ladle with which the kicadi is prepared, you send up yells of pain.

"You run in the larger streets and roll full length on beds of black ash—This is your routine; but you never once remember Purandara Vitthala"—meaning : you are a dog.

Or, on another level : the Dasa is described as having this conversation with the emperor Krishnadevaraya who must have talked to him at earlier times as jeweller and banker. Possibly he made a comment on the Dasa condition to which Purandaradasa has reduced himself. It is said that the king tried once or twice to lavish on him gifts which

[1]"डोकु बालद नायकरे/नीवेनेनुटव माडिदिरि"

the Dasa distributed among the, poor. The Dasa naturally compares the two conditions—i.e , the emperor's and his! and would defend himself. Temerity indeed!

> "Nimma bhagya doddado? namma bhagya doddado
> Sammatiyali navu nivu-sati madi noduva banni"[1]

The dignity of the answer in establishing equality—even superiority—between the two is impressive. We shall agree to compare. "All goods, jaggery, ghee, grain wear in time; one has to be careful about them; but on the ambrosia of Hari's name there need never be such care. Bracelets and necklaces cause fear from thieves; from whom is fear to the garland of Tulasi beads gathered in the woods? Gold, money and coin bring in a lot of fear; there is no such fear for the wealth possessed in the form of Rama's name; in trade and industry there is ever an anxiety about loss; nothing worries the mind of a person who has taken to begging—he hasn't to bother about anything else. Your fortune is favoured by Goddess Lakshmi; our wealth is Narayana. The Lord of our fortune together is our Purandara Vitthala." The king must have been answered. This is the pride of the beggar! Who could so daunt the proudest monarch of the day?

The Dasa's is a joyous spirit now and free; he is a liberated soul. "Tatra ka paridevana"[2]—He has the freedom of the three worlds .:—the Heaven, the Earth and the other country!

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[1]"निम्म भाग्य दोड्डदो ? नम्म भाग्य दोड्डदो
सम्मतियलि—नावु नीवु-साटि माडि नोडुव बन्नि"

[2]"तत्र का परिदेवना"

VII. PURANDARADASA'S LITERATURE AND MUSIC

THE contribution of Purandaradasa has been primarily as a saint-singer of Karnataka He changed over from the life of an earthling into a devotee of God and gained peace of mind, happiness and joy in the company of a few liberated men of his time like his Guru Vyasaraya and fellow-Bhaktas like Kanakadasa. He was able to see how great this life of spiritual endeavour was Though he had striven hard to gain an equable temper and freedom of the spirit unclouded by doubt and the torments of the flesh, the bark and the sneer of men about him continuously hurt him at first. It did not take him long to develop stability and single-minded devotion to his God That gave him serenity; all that he had he had given up and he had surrendered himself to the will of God with no thought or care either for himself, his wife or children, or for success and failure in life. The detachment and disinterestedness he cultivated enabled him to look at the world and things spaciously and he moved about helping, counselling, consoling—with cheer in his heart, 'a smile for everybody and a hope for everyone'.

This makes his utterances simple and positive. Since he loved mankind he felt easy in every company and situation and his love of the Lord was so clear and persistent that faith was communicated to others. It rang true

His songs came spontaneously suited to and arising out of each situation or as directed to a person or condition of life. The need was to speak out clearly and directly so that the message could register and get understood immediately

Since it was song it reached the hearts of the people directly; his mind was full of the history and culture of the country; its myths and legends flowed to illustrate a point or embellish a statement; and this persuaded. Since he was at heart a poet, similes and metaphors poured in; aphorisms and proverbs current in the country emphasised the burden of the song. The language itself was the spoken language of the time in what today is called North Karnataka—practically the heart-land of the tongue—in its great achievements. Nothing was forced; heart, thought, voice and the musical mode, the beat of the tala combined to make it effective utterance. The refrain, i e., the Pallavi in each song, expresses the central idea, the Anupallavi—either affirms it or specialises the meaning in it and indicates the situation in which it could have been uttered—strikingly and impressively. Both the essential and total meanings are contained in it. The pattern had come down at-least from Sripadaraya's time.

Many of the songs mentioned earlier illustrate this point. The songs of the Gopis and of Yasoda, the Dasa's own longings and the delights in thinking of young Krishna, the sorrows in his own heart, which kept him restless and unfulfilled; the sympathy for those who were poor and beset with sorrow impelled him to speak wisely and well and in a way in which his whole heart expressed itself. The usual moral precepts, true of all the sects which have gained importance in India and forming the basis of our culture, were there spoken with a voice in which there was a ring of truth and faith. When he said "Manava janma doddadu/ Ida hani madalu bedi huccappagalira" or "Ecsabeku/Iddu jayisa-beku" or "Ee pariya sobagaava devaralı kane" or "Binnahake bayillavayya" or "Anugaalavu cinte jivakke" or "Inthinthaddellanu barali" or "Entadaru Cinte"—a heart flowed out. When he asked himself or men "Kanno-

lage nodo Hariya", it expressed the spiritual height he had reached If as "Kayalarenu Krishna kandavara bagilanu" was a cry of sorrow and humiliation, "Kandena kanasinalli Govindana" or "Krishna murti kanna munde nintiddantide"[1] speaks of a presence and personal vision which was alive. He knew that no one could achieve nobility and full direction until the Guru guided him to it; and, in his development, he knew what was necessary and what had to be shunned. When realisation came he felt in his blood and bones that he was fulfilled and blessed. The entire economy of the universe was understood when one had gained the love of the Lord. Then he could talk as he liked with no difference between man and man, caste and community and all the thoughts in the *Gita* and the *Upanisads* naturally became part of his utterance. The Jangamas and the Madhva Brahmins could both be reconciled when he got in to say that he himself was a Jangama, while all the while at heart he was what Vyasaraya had taught him to believe as the principle of the Madhva religion.

There was only one truth, that is the will of Hari. "Haricitta satya, Haricitta"—what rules the universe is the will of Hari—the will of man is ineffective in the least which is nothing but the alter of "Tena vina trnamapi nacalati"[2]

[1] "मानव जन्म दोड्डु/इद हानि माडलुबेडि हुच्चपगलिरा"
"ईसबेकु/इद्दु जैसबेकु"
"ई परिय सोबगाव देवरलि काणे"
"विन्नहके बायिल्लवय्य"
"अनुगालवू चिते जीवक्के"
"इयिद्देल्लानु बरलि" "त्यां एतादव चिंत"
"कण्णोलगे नोडो हरिय"
"कायलारेनु कृष्ण कंडवर बागिलनु"
"कंडे ना कनसिनली गोविन्दन"
"कृष्णमूरुति कण्ण मुन्दे निंतिद्दतिदे"

[2] "तेन विना तृणमपि नचलति"

(without it not a blade of grass moves)—which is as old as the hills. The most contrary are purposes often between the human and the divine; what asks is the human will; what disposes is God's will.

A man may ask for wife and children; God may will no marriage for the person; man may desire a proper distribution of food; but God may make a person cry for it. The best part of wisdom is to ask for Purandara Vitthala. Individual and social living becomes the subject-matter of the songs. Men like these do not shape their utterance as the poet or playwright does They speak as the need arises and as their heart impels them; and if that becomes literature—as it is in a special sense—the rules, the specializations, sophistications of literary dogma and practice and technique—do not enter. It is sheer individual utterance; unmindful of what else it is or not; for, to be literature is not the primary purpose. So too is the music; the Sahitya and Bhakti are more important than the music itself. Since Purandaradasa was both a poet and a musician, the two happily blended together. The primacy, however, was of the words and the things said. This is in contrast with Tyagaraja with whom Rama Bhakti and Atma Mukti are the primary subject-matter and Nadayoga was what was to be achieved.[1]

One song may be selected to show how possibly a personal sorrow got transmuted into generalised utterance; it obliquely gives us literature. The Dasa is known to have lost a young son and the sorrow weighed on his heart. It is said to come out in "Giliyu Panjaradolilla Hari Hariye".[2] "The cage has become empty; sister dear, I took your counsel and tended a little parrot; it was just putting out little feathers; a cat came when I was absent and took it

[1]To Dikshitar, music in the song was almost the purposed Form.

[2]"गिलियु पंजरदोलिल्ल हरि हरिये"

away. I decked it with a pearl necklace; so green was it in colour : so wise and intelligent was the little one. It is now dead and gone. What a dear the parrot was! It played on the palm : it sat on the wrists or on the back of the palm; it has now disappeared; these eyes will not behold it again. Hari Hari, the parrot-cage has become empty"—are the equivalent of the words spoken—It is almost pure song. The opening lines of practically all the songs are a wealth of experience. Nothing approaches such utterance as nothing certainly surpasses it.... But one is given no idea which was the first and which the last song he sang. If it had begun with "Adaddella olite ayitu" at one stage, it unburdened itself and proceeded through "Yavagalu cinte jivakke" and "Innenu? Innenu?" and ended possibly with a suladi like "Aa pada ananda"[1] it is a full tenor and picture of life that escaped from littleness, built itself into strength, laughed, cried out or arraigned as it liked—spoke to men about their ways and taught them simply and beautifully the ways of winning God's grace

There was no difficulty or hindrance when he felt like speaking; and when he spoke he did not mince matters. Sometimes the language he uses may not be polite Obviously he was incensed by pretenders to learning who abused their position near about one so great as Vyasaraya, treating the Dasakuta people with contempt and the Dasa himself with discourtesy When Purandaradasa was exasperated by their behaviour he must have spoken harsh and hard : "Intha tudugu mundegandariginnu Vaishnava Salluvade"[2] Does the Vaishnava faith agree with such vicious

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[1]"आदद्देल्ला ओलिते आयितु"
"यावागलू चिंते जीवक्के"
"इन्नेनु इन्नेनु"
"आ पाद आनंद"

[2]"इन्थ तुडुगु मुंडेगंडरिगिन्नु वैष्णव सल्लुवदे ?"

scoundrels? They shave their beards and moustaches, paint big namas on their foreheads, stamp their arms and bodies wildly all over, speak big words and call themselves big. Is Vaishnava consonant with such "bastards"? They malign the Bhagavatas without scruple; think no end of themselves. Petty, owl-faced fellows—how can they be called Vaishnavas? It is a rare song; he has used those words with full intention and no squeamishness need intervene to say it can't have been spoken or written by him. That was in character; for he was full-blooded. He sometimes calls them pigs and in verbal treatment he can plaster the people with terms so as to destroy them. Some of the sectarian pieces have to be heard to be believed [1] This was genuine faith and attitude fully aware of the true implications of a life of religion with an understanding of human weakness and strength; knowing that nothing else matters but the will of God.[2]

And in speaking of that His is the influence inside and in every act of thought, His the impulsion, direction and goal He says that no planets are responsible for things— "Sakala grahabala nine/Sarasijaksha/nikhilarakshaka nine/ Visvavyapakane"[3] he reaches out to the highest—"You are the strength of all the planets, in all men's horoscopes; the protector of all; Ravi, Candra, Budha, Rahu, Ketu—you are all—Sukra, Mangala are yourself; so are you night and day; you are the nine processes of Bhakti, the one who cures the disease of birth and death; you are the fortnight and the month as you are the Parva, Kala, Nakshatra, Yoga and Tithi and Karana; you are the one who cried Endless her covering shall be' when in the court of the

[1] Sometimes set, and case hardened also.

[2] Sometimes at least things have to be called by their names!

[3] "सकल ग्रहबल नीने सरसिजाक्ष/
निखिलरक्षक नीने विश्वव्यापकने—"

Kaurava Draupadi was being stripped; the protector of all in distress; you are the season and the year; the source and the beginning of earth; Kratu, Homa Yajna and the final beneficence, Sadgati. Certainly and truly, O my Lord Purandara Vitthala, you are the great one;—beyond the reach of the Vedas." His soul is one paean of praise. In such an inclusive attitude there is no place for pettiness or pursuit of small ends. In a mood like this[1] he says he does not care what happens to him : what humiliations and extremities he is reduced to if only his service to Purandara Vitthala will last.

On the whole it is the picture of a life simple, earnest and single-minded set for fulfilling itself and being a source of light, lead and help to others Such men do not care what others say of them or be afraid of things; nor do they wait on the favours of others. A consuming purpose drives them. They do not give up the world nor deny the validity of normal obligations. Their eyes and hearts are ever fixed on the high goal towards which they move, whatever happens. All they say and sing is an expression of this goal, the path leading to it and the journey made.

One special bit which tempered and helped to save the Dasa deserves to be noted. The people who calumniated him did him greater service, he says—by making him more dedicated and concentrated in his devotion to the Lord than the friendly ones. "Hangisi Hangisi enage Harinama Nillisidaru"[2] but left him with name of Hari. They stung him with their nagging and put him to humiliation, made

[1]This ekes out a mood and wisdom which make him say to one who has lost by death : He gave it; he has taken it away : why beat breasts on it? Do not worry. Kindlier even than Vasishta's to Ajav which is sombre. (Kotta Devaru Kondu hodare/Kutti hodedu Kolve)

[2]"हंगिसि हंगिसि एनगे
हरिनाम निल्लिसिदरु"

him lose cheer but released him from passion. Those who blamed him from behind were indirectly his saving relations Those who spoke to silence him enabled him to survive. Teasing and persecuting they redeemed him and took him further on the path of Kaivalya while preventing him from getting a pie—exposing him to sorrow and frustration. This made him more truly earmarked and dedicated as a valuable thing that belonged to Hari. "My father Purandara Vitthala, bring me your beneficence; call me the servant of your servants" is the cry of his heart He was obviously thinking of persecutors in the scholarly orthodox camp and of the critics of the Dasa life he had undertaken. But the affection of Vyasaraya, his Guru, and the esteem in which the Guru held him by calling him the Dasa exemplar par excellence—(Daasarendare Purandara Dasrayya)[1] sustained him and warded off the evil consequences of slander and slight.

But after Vyasaraya passed away in 1539 times became hard in Vijayanagar. The entire moral tone of the capital suffered badly. This meant that there was greater need for a person like Purandaradasa to speak his mind about goodness and virtue and cleanliness of body, mind and deed. The time was awry and it must have made Purandara sad.

Efforts have been made to compare the Virasaiva Vacanas and some of the passages in Suladis and Ugabhogas; to establish similarities between Purandara and a few Maharashtra saints. One must not forget that it is from a homogeneous field of thought, feeling and background and a continuous tradition, loyalty and preference that literature and morals derive in India and in whatever language the saintly mystic singers sing the whole of it is but one heritage to draw uyon. This continuity of tradition has

[1] "दासरेन्दरे पुरंदर दासरय्य"

been so far the one great treasure and binding force of the nation Purandaradasa, in spite of his Madhva preferences and a few sectarian items, struck the right chord in talking to the people about what makes for cleanliness in individual and social living He spoke against the unclean and for what makes human stature great and for a larger enterprise of the spirit He spoke the standard language.[1]

Purandaradasa's song is valuable as literature It is said that Vacanas were sung also, but how they were, in what Raga mode or to what time-measures is not on record. The Dasas made use of music, sang and danced before their God and went in streets daily singing wherever they went, speaking to men of God and of the ways of winning His grace. Purandaradasa established the mode of life which is called the Dasakuta and the Haridasa Pantha and its ritual and methodology continued long into the days of even Tyagaraja. Many of his songs were sung during the Bhajanas or on the streets when he moved out for his 'Unchavrtti' collecting grain, etc , offered voluntarily. That was, however, a more advanced day for music. Tyagaraja's kritis were more elaborate as musical pieces and had been set in definite moods of Raga, tala and full sancara (movement).

Purandaradasa's compositions show many forms. They are chiefly Padas, Suladis and Ugabhogas, each having a definite pattern in Raga and tala. From Narahari Tirtha's days onwards the Pada pattern has come to us, though only a very few of that writer's (2 or 3) are available. Sripadaraya was deemed a Guru of Gurus; he sat on a throne and moved in palanquins with a crown on his head. Whatever others said or thought about it, he composed and sang a

[1]There is close parallelism between a good few of Purandaradasa's Ugabhogas and Basavesvara Vacanas. So is there between them and the Ugabhogas of the Adyas and Aradhyas.

number of songs in Kannada, the language of the people. They were nearest to the spoken word of his day. There was a form called Vrttanama which had fallen into disuse and Sripadaraya revived it. It resembles the *Gitagovinda* pattern and, more, the Dvadasa stotra of Madhvacharya written in Sanskrit, a refrain—a carana—and a full stanza of structural verse alternating would be the unit of composition. This form Sripadaraya used in a few of his Kannada songs. He revived possibly the Suladi form also. Some 133 of them are said to be composed by him and he sang them during the Bhajana as in the night. One Bhramara Gita is in the Raga Mukhari in Atta Tala :

> "Ye Kitava! Bhringa Ninnattidane/
> Sri Ranga ta Madhureli nindu;"[1]

is considered to be evidence of his gifts as a composer. His signature was Ranga Vitthala. Vyasaraya possibly got his partiality for this as well. If a great work in Sanskrit called *Vagvajra* establishes Sripadaraya's greatness, *Candrika, Tarkatandava, Nyayamrta*, etc, were written by Vyasaraya. The latter is credited with having written 250 songs and a few Ugabhogas and 30 Suladis. The great and hefty Guru was in the habit of singing and dancing(!) before his God at the time of worship. Next to Sripadaraya Vyasaraya is second in the order of the Haridasa tradition. His signature is Sri Krishna.

Purandaradasa is said to have composed 4.75 lakhs of items of different kinds, the classification of which is contained in a song attributed to him. We have barely a thousand songs extant and even among them a good number is suspect. But what is authentic is in quantity and quality great and rich and is distinctive of the personality and emi-

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[1] "ये कितव ! भृंग निन्नट्टिदने/
श्री रंग ता मधुरेलि निन्दु"

nence of this father of the Haridasa school. The structure of the Pada has been described already. Though there are single-line refrains in a few songs, there is usually an Anupallavi, of one or two lines long as extension or specialisation of the meaning of the Pallavi. There is a regular timemeasure in a definite proportion between the Pallavi and the Anupallavi (extra or set) and correspondence between the Anupallavi and the second half of a Carana. The Caranas which follow are usually three or five; and some more Neither the Raga nor the tala changes in the singing of these Padas. This became the pattern which was refined and developed into purer musical forms and articulation by Tyagaraja in the 18th century. Tyagaraja expressed his gratitude and obligation to this earlier master. Dikshitar developed the musical possibilities of this pattern further by elaborating its base Prastara making his an architectonic far more intrinsically formal than any mere Sahitya can express. Occasionally the length of a middle Carana is greater; for example, six lines which then are done a little more elaborately or quicker in tempo; and are 'usually referred to us Madhyama Kala Sahitya'. One wishes Purandaradasa or somebody else of his time had given us swaraprastara for the anupallavi and the pallavi or any sangatis that may have been used by him and the way any section of a Carana was to be picked up (Edupu) for special musical rendering. Special Sangatis were worked out by Tyagaraja later. Whether "Neraval" is aided or not by any phrase or bar in the song need not concern us here, for the singer can do it at any appropriate point. The Sangita set in a tala and melodic mode was there all right as an integral presence. Purandara's purpose was to say things to men or to himself of cleanliness and godliness and in devotion to the Lord, and music was a means at best, a sort of lining or enunciation for the sahitya.

As contrasted with Purandara, Tyagaraja's musical structure was more deeply reflective, individualistic and more closely balanced and evolved. Each was set and sung like that and the whole in more Ragas than in Purandara's time;[1] some of them of a rare kind Somebody was taking it down all along and learning it almost by the next morning. His music is preserved in more than one Patha. Groups of Sishyas rendered them solo or together whenever called upon to do so The Bhakti Bhava is deeply present throughout—clean and keen, clear and profoundly expressed. Almost everything essential to the mood was being put into the song, with a rigour that did not admit extraneous or superfluous language, even for poetic effect. Rich Raga and Bhakti dominated. One can see how a song began and developed, what it wanted to stress as musical Bhava as well as the notes stressed, e.g., the essential distinctive notes characteristic of each Raga are a deliberate feat and the musician can be felt in every part of the song, with at least a fifty-fifty articulation of Sahitya and Sangita He set songs in many elaborate patterns, lengths and tempos. But he preferred the madhyama kala kritis. The Bhakti and the Sangita were more in organic presence than as talk to other men in every situation as Purandara had it. Clearly Tyagaraja's was not primarily a mission to preach and comment on every aspect of the life of the people though its tone was deeply moral. It is a more personal Bhakti.

Dikshitars sound sometimes more technically motivated; more deliberately composed. "Tyagaraja's technique is as well developed; but is well concealed in the excellence of the finished form In overall structure I shall add,—and total subtlety Dikshitar had his method of creative expression " It was elaborately purposive; its musical form is almost like a Platonic yet embodied but carefully worked

[1] 202 as listed recently for some 800 songs.

out form; the sahitya adjusts itself subserving the need and interests of the Raga and Tala. Whole bunches of Ragas show up as part of a scheme, austere and awesome, challenging vocal or lung power with the musical Kalpana enshrined in it. Not a single phrase or bar can be displaced or meddled with. The sustaining power needed for singing Dikshitar's compositions is usually greater. He develops aspects of the Raga itself as he moves on in composition. He is quite a grammarian with his Vibhakti Gucchas and one feels that in addition to his Bhakti and austerity, his Sakti and Tantra references—for he was a Sricakra worshipper—the spaciousness of the Raga mode, its nuances and its subtleties show distinctly and are worked into elaborate and complex formal patterns. His songs are formidable and masculine, sometimes a weak or feminine voice gasps—and is often overwhelmed by its demands. Purandara's was a simpler, quieter and a more direct, democratic purpose. Whatever he felt he had to say to help men to lead better lives he said—for a good life here and a better life hereafter. Even music could not interpose between him and this purpose. Music was an instrumentality and had to learn to abide by that purpose.

An earlier Telugu master called Annamacharya who had settled down in Tirupati and was an elder contemporary of Purandara has the same structure and patterns. His songs in praise of Sri Venkatesvara are now being printed in Tirupati. Some 5,000 of them have come out from a store of over 15,000. When Annamacharya was old in years and he and Purandara met in Tirupati, Hampe, or Pandharpur, the old man seems to have been impressed by the promise in the young Srinivasa Nayak (later Purandaradasa). Annamacharya himself could be familiar with Sripadaraya and with the song patterns current in Vijayanagar. Simplicity, naturalness, directness of utterance, transparent

honesty and the devotional purpose of a person in social relationships are enshrined in these songs. The Raga and Tala and Sahitya Bhavas synchronise to produce the intended effects so that they articulate clearly and definitely. When Purandaradasa and his followers sang them they got fixed and established, as almost moulds do, in the minds of the listeners. This promoted among the listeners the knowledge of at least two modes—the literary and the musical Matu and Dhatu as they say—; any number of new charanas could be added in the former, and in the latter as a raga pattern and a tala pattern easy to pick up. The song-mode came to stay in the Kannada land and all over the south wherever Purandara moved about or was felt. The publicity that the pattern achieved became the ground-work of much of the musical development in later times. A Vrttanama beginning with "Sri Krsnarayana torise, matanadise"[1] in Ahiri, Tala Ata[2] could illustrate the mode and its movement. It is a musical salad and could be lilting and beautiful when sung the Dasa way.

Purandara is famous for his Suladis. Some of them are quoted as exemplary by later writers on Sangita Sastra works like *Sangita Saramrta* by Tulajaji Maharaj and in Subbarama Dikshitar's *Sangita Sampradaya Pradarsini.* Some of them like "Hasugala kareva dhvani/Karugala pididu biduva dhvani"[3] in what was called the Karnataka Deva Gandhari is said to be known to all—i.e. (ati prasiddhatvat atra visesata na pradarsitah) extremely popular.

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[1] "श्री कृष्णरायन तोरिसे, मातनाडिसे"

[2] The tradition says each is sung in a single Raga; Suda Prabandah Kathita eka raga nivesitah, or, melapa varjitasca etc. sarva dhatveka khandakah. (quote from Dr. R. Satyanarayana's note on Saladis and Ughabhogas).

[3] "हसुगल करेव-ध्वनि
करुगल पिडिदु बिडुव ध्वनि"

Usually no Raga names are definitely associated with a Suladi (in the latest printed texts) though there are examples of such in Sripadaraya and Vyasaraya and in the stray Suladi of Annamacarya as well.[1] It is primarily a Tala-malika or Cakra, the standard type of which has seven caranas in seven talas—concluded by a couplet which sums up, as it were, the essence of the content or message of that Suladi. It is called the Jote or Jati or Yati; also a murchana; almost doing the work of a Pallavi. It was, very likely, sung also in chorus. At the end of each stanza the Ankita records it.

The exact meaning of the word 'Suladi' is not known, even whether it is 'Su' or 'Soo' or 'Sula' or 'Suda'. A fanciful derivation is the path which is trodden (Suliva Hadi) or the easy path (Sulabha Hadi—to sing or to Moksha) which is also a guess. If it is 'Sool', it can be what is sounded in a particular order—Sul in turn the seven, beginning with, for example, Dhruva followed by Matthya, Trivude, Ata, Adi, Jhampe, Ekatala would be coming regularly one after the other; sometimes a Rupaka would be added or a Tala or two repeat in between. The number of stanzas and Talas would however range between five and ten. The number of lines in each stanza was not definite. So too the length of the lines; but they suited the Tala indicated, exactly rendering and, almost defining, the rests and beats of the Tala used. They are both in the Marga and the Desi styles. There was much controversy and even anarchy they say in the number and use of the Talas before Purandara's time. The credit for systematizing them into definite and standard measures was owing chiefly to him, who is acknowledged as the supreme Purvacarya—or Adiguru—in the matter of musical practice. 64,000 Suladis are mentioned against his name;

[1]Even Dikshitar composed his famous Navagraha Kriti Malika song in a particular sequence.

we have just a few extant. Some of them contain literature and attitudes equal to the best in the Padas which are more purely literary lyrics, which elaborate more the Raga Bhava of the composition. "Suda" is an old name for song in musical terminology and a mixed song (Cf. Suddha + Salaga<chayalaga and suda) composition. At first using different varieties of Tala or Raga or both, being a Ragamalika and Talamalika as well and a special favourite of the Kannada composers Though Raga names are not mentioned, they must all have been sung in familiar Raga modes.

There is a specialisation of it in the dance patterns. Pundarika Vitthala belonged almost to this time and his work gained influence in the North as well and tried to clear many a point between Sarangadeva and them. Sarngadeva was in Devagiri, then part of Karnataka In between him and Purandara, Vidyaranya, the inspirer of the Vijaya nagar empire, is said to have written "Sangitasara" from which later writers quote. Vidyaranya seems to have spoken of 15 Melakarta Ragas which had risen to nineteen by the time df Venkatamakhi who organised them into 72.[1]

It is said that Purandara was a great Lakshanakara as well though there is no treatise in his name. But his Lakshana practice has defined the characteristics of the Ragas he used for the compositions. He continued on the lines of Sripadaraya and Vyasaraya... Roughly both he and Annamacarya used the same number of Ragas The modalities were similar in structure and content, though the Sringara songs are many more and adult in Annamacarya than in Purandara. A few Ragas not used by Annamacarya are used by Purandaradasa Todi and Kalyani,[2] which seem to have been lost early were brought into vogue again by Puran-

[1] With two parts of 36 each kind.

[2] Designated sometimes as Turuskanam atipriyah.

—तुरुष्काणाम् अतिप्रिय:

daradasa. Bilahari and Kambodi are beautifully presented as are Kannada, Mangala and Kaisiki.

Some of the passages in the Suladis are moving to a degree and are patterned close to the Vacanas of the Virasaiva worthies of the 19th and 13th centuries. Almost the same lines, figures, imagery and cumulation of effect are found here. They must have been current; and they caught because they were bright and live and forceful. The 15th and 16th centuries saw, after a lapse of two centuries, the rise of a new Virasaiva activity collecting, classifying, commenting and expounding the Vacanas in the capital city of Vijayanagara itself. The Vacanas were near the hearts and memories of people and so were accepted and used by the Dasas as well; the Bhakti Bhava and Sharanya Bhava were nearly the same and that explains the close parallelism.

Possibly the closing song in the life of Purandara was a Suladi Some of the finest lullabies are in the Suladi form.

The other form is Ugabhoga which is said to be an abbreviation of the four sections of the Raga elaboration beginning with Udgraha and closing with Abhoga;—with Melapaka and Dhruva in between (and, sometimes, an Antara stage thrown in)—sometimes the Raga is indicated and no Tala; sometimes neither;[1] these are looser and nearer prose than even a metrical composition. Here too the parallelism with the Vacana is striking. Even the manner of address before the signature indicates it. Some bits of Purandaradasa's compositions are in Shatpadi, Sangatya and Ragale forms. Cradle songs and Suvvali songs are a few minor ones.

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[1]At the end of each suladi unit and ugabhoga the ankita is repeated. Since Dhruva is an important element here the definition of the term cannot be merely udgraha and Abhoga. The Suladi of Annamacharya indicates its raga a special feature of Sudadi prabandha is said to be Eka Raga niviesitah or as also Ekakhandakah.

He was a musician in his own right and is credited with being almost the father of Karnataka music. His Lakshana modes are not extant. That the technical records in music of his songs are not preserved as they luckily were in the case of Tyagaraja and others in later times is a cause for sorrow. Tradition has however held them in the highest esteem. Both Tyagaraja and Dikshitar declare their debt to him in music. And later writers have accepted the debt music owes to him.

When we know that barely a few months after his passing away Vijayanagar was defeated (at Talikota or Rakkasa Tagadi in 1565) and that the capital was sacked, nothing could be heard of culture or survival of it or of the Dasakuta for more than a hundred years after. Sad was the Dasa helplessly seeing the drift of things between 1539 and 1564. All that the Dasa could do was to cry out against ills and evils of the time in his Kirtanas, Suladis and Ugabhogas, a solid body of work to the people and to the time, adding simultaneously to the literature and song and to principles of good living. Those who knew him loved him and had regard for him. Our loss is great for another reason: the compositions were not written down by him and/or no attention was paid to preserve the exact musical structure of the songs.[1]

Those who know the traditions of South Indian or Karnatak music say that the features of its system are largely due to Purandaradasa. He introduced order and made secure its foundations. The bulk of the theory and practice in Raga and Tala in compositions substantially

[1]The criticism that Purandaradasa's songs can't be sung as formal music is neither here nor there. The Raga is clearly marked along with the Tala and Bidaram Krishnappa, a famous musician of Mysore, gave exclusive recitals of Daasara Padas at Madras and Mysore and brought them off for full four hours in sophisticated musical circles.

remain as he set and left them. Though his Kirtanas were not written down as musical structure, the correct shape of the Ragas[1] is clearly reflected in them and the Kirtanas illustrate this. He uses some 70 to 80 Ragas according to the extant manuscripts and some of them are rendered today more or less as in his days. Some of Tyagaraja's compositions deal almost with identical subjects, e.g., each has poems on God's waking up and lullabies, food, dress, adornment, types of Bhakti, etc.; each has songs on how music can save.[2]

The structure of the padas of Kshetrajna derives occasionally from the patterns current at the time of the Dasa though the content, temper and perhaps even the purpose of Kshetrajna are different. His songs have closer affinity with the modern lyrical poetry. Kshetrajna speaks of adult-love between man and woman in intensity and passion, whereas even the most sensuous virahabhava songs of Purandaradasa are patently in connection with little Krishna whose divinity is ever in mind, and never in doubt.

Purandaradasa "introduced the Malavagaula (Bhairav That) scale as the basic scale for music instruction. The ancient Suddha scale was Kharabarapriya. It was derived by the application of Chatussruti—a *full* interval to Shadja and Pancama and Madhyama. Later the sruti values of the notes of the resultant scales were enumerated. In North India as well as in South India the tradition of Bharata's system had been forgotten. Ignoring that Bharata's scale started from Shadja, the pandits of North India treated

[1]T.V. Subba Rao.: "Studies in Indian Music", pp. 109-112.

[2]Sangitaratna Vasudevacharya lists quite a few compositions which bear similarity between Purandaradasa and Tyagaraja (Prabuddha Karnataka, Issues No. 5 179-80)—for subject matter, attitude and structure.

the note with reference to which the srutis of Shadja were given as the initial and basic note and arrived at the Sankarabharana or the Bilaval scale. Purandaradasa, however, adopted the Malavagaula scale, as its derivation from Shadja, Pancama and Madhyama was based on a process identical with the derivation of the ancient classic scale with this significant difference that in derivation a dvisruti instead of a catussruti interval was used. A dvisruti interval —semi tone—is easier to negotiate than a catussruti interval for the beginner. That is the reason which underlies the selection of the Malavagaula scale.[1]

He also framed a graded series of lesson which even today prevails in the teaching of music in South India. The Svaravalis, Janti Varases, Alankaras and Gitas form the surest road to the mastery of Carnatic music with all its intricacies of Śvara and Tala Praśtaras.

He is credited with Laksana Gitas, Tana Varnas and Tillanas; unluckily we do not have any of the latter now. Pada, Devaranama and Kirtana are roughly equivalent terms A great number of the Kirtanas is in Madhyama Kala'—middle time.[2]

What makes us grateful to Purandaradasa is supremely the first exercises in music which all children learn in the form of Svaravali, Janti Svara, Alankaras and Gitas. The Gitas are called Pilleyar or Pillari Gitas, indicating at once Ganapati and children. Through them beginners learn the modalities of the Svara structure and intricate patterns of

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[1]A point is made that this is merely a pedagogic convenience and should not be made too much of. But that is a basic point and has been at the foundation of all musical training is the South for 400 years.

[2]Dr. R. Satyanarayana has made a full contribution to the subject in an introduction to the IV part of the Dasa's Krishna Leela songs (published by Hucchu Rao Bengeri and Betageri Krishna Sharma, Dharwad).

them in Tala, slow, middle or fast tempo Mastering them, the surest foundations are laid for the study of more specific or specialised structures of Raga and Tala later.

And Pillari Gitas which feature "Lambodara Lakumikara" are a gorgeous if simple beginning.

Prof. Sambamurthy says that 'the Dasa's genius shows greatly in his Gitas in Malahari Raga. After Malavagaula, it was proper to choose another of the same parent Raga. Since he knew the child-mind superbly, he got them acquainted with Gitas where Dhatu (Raga) and Matu (words) show together simply. There is a note in them for every count of Tala It is normal to have the same number of letters or syllables in an Avarta. Purandaradasa was able to demonstrate that by lengthening certain notes, a less number of letters would do the trick.

In Jayadeva's *Gita-Govinda* caranas come first and then the equivalents of a refrain.

The Dasa in the two Gitas in Malahari adopts this method We may remember that we begin with 'Sri Gananatha' and end with 'LambodaraLakumikara'[1] (A Bhandira Bhasha term) and the third gita in Malahari "kereya niranu kerege celli"[2] is a Dvikhandike gita.

There is a kirtana in Arabhi—indicated with both Adi and Rupaka in different texts—beginning with

"Adidano Ranga adbhutadindali"[3]

describing how Krishna danced marvellously on the hood of the Kalinga serpent. Brahma and others assembled to look on from the sky; Rambhe and Urvasi, the beauties of Paradise, danced Bharatanatya :

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[1]"श्री गणनाथ
लंबोदर लकुमिकर"

[2]"केरेय नीरनु केरेगे चेल्लि"

[3]"ग्राडिदनो रंग ग्रद्भुतदिंदलि"

"Jham tata takadhimi tadhitom endu
Jhampe taladi Tumburanoppise"[1]

"Dhama pa pa Dha sari" the notes sound as Narada and Tumbura are singing and Nandi is playing upon the Mardala, etc. This is how Purandaradasa delights in song and dance.

Another type of composition is "Mundige", a puzzle to the common man using occult imagery and symbols known only to the initiated. Kanakadasa has many more of them. They correspond to the *Bharudas* of the Maharashtra saints Each phrase has a technical reference and can make meaning only to those who know the code. Two to three will illustrate the kind. Every sect including the Tantrikas—they more than others—has a distinct code and symbolism.

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[1] "झम तट तक धिमि तधीतोम एंदु
झंपे तालदि तुम्बुरनोप्पिसे"

VIII. A FINAL LOOK

A FINAL ACCOUNT of the picture will roughly be this : Purandaradasa is primarily a saint-singer, a maker and singer of some very beautiful and moving Devaranamas or Padas and is cherished as a great Bhakta and as the leader of the Dasakuta. The songs are as much music as literature though students of literature did not consider his work as such. They did not include folk-songs and ballads also. We now have a more inclusive view of literature and it is possible to give them the place rightfully belonging to them. These songs were not made with a view to the creation of what is called "imaginative" work or according to principles and conventions deemed literary and acceptable to scholars and critics. They are lyrics and each is self-sufficient arising out of a situation either in the mind or life of the singer himself as expression of one of his own states, aspiration or fulfilment; or, spoken to the world when he was impelled to do so for the benefit of others. This intention is conscious and clearly purposed. Music is just aid and means to this—an instrument. The singer is moved to say these things in behalf of Truth, to tell men and women how wrong is a life of indulgence and pointing out double-think and doubleliving Purandaradasa himself changed over from one extreme type of being to another and knows how cussed men are in their daily tasks, passions and interests. He could put his finger on their wants and defects and expose their blemishes and falseness He knows the weakness and the temptations to which men are exposed and how difficult it is to stabilise one's life and concentrate on thoughts of God. A religious and spiritual life is diffi-

cult to live--howsoever simple it may appear and sound. To wean oneself from the earthly pleasures takes a lot of doing. The whole process is on view in the songs of Purandaradasa. Having been a hard-hearted miser he had been saved by his wife. A kindly Guru took him under his wing and helped to establish him in faith and peace of soul.

He travelled over the whole land; over Tirtha and Kshetra seeing men and their ways of living When he had steadied himself he came back to live in the capital city, saw the passing away of a great king like Krishnadevaraya (1530) and his Guru Vyasaraya (1539) nine years later; witnessed the condition of Vijayanagar under the rule of Sadasiva, Tirumala and Ramaraya; felt bad about it all and was sore that life and time had degenerated. In what today is called the Purandara Mantapa he spent his time in Bhajanas, surrounded by those who had faith in him and his way of life and passed away on Pushya Amavasa of Raktakshi, with the feet of the Lord in his mind and his name on his lips

All this has been recorded in songs. In a sense, the opening line of almost spiritually the first song which begins a new life for him was "Adaddella Olite Ayitu"[1]—all that has happened has happened for good—i.e , what change he got into is declared as good; not only then but in the final fulfilment and the blessedness he achieved. The whole process illustrates how life can be reformed and reach the ripest condition of being, cleansing itself, filled with rich and beneficent content and be a blessing to itself and others round about. What he felt and said, what he was and did, what he left behind him as main memory, counsel and song stands like a pillar of light—a beacon directing the path to

[1]"आदद्देल्ला ओलिते आयितु"

the goal of life. The "Patha", the "Pantha", the "Gamya", the "Sadhana" and the "Siddhi" are in picture. Was it not the same man who in the beginning had said "Binnahake Bayillavayya/Ananta aparadha ennalli iralagi"; and, sometime later that life and things of the earth are transitory and perishable, that much in life is dirty, who also said "Manava janma doddadu, Ida hani madalu bedi huccappagalira" that is he enjoined on men the task and the endeavour to live well, telling them in another song "Isabeku" not only but "Iddu Jayisabeku"—one must live and win—and the method was to keep oneself free from the least little desire for self. He had attained a condition when he felt that all that happens happens by God's will (Haricitta) So he is no "Aparadhi" (Aparadhi Nanalla). The wheel has come full circle.

One of the most beautiful songs of Purandaradasa describes the state of mind in the final stage of such an endeavour :

> "Hange irabeku Samsaradalli/
> Hyange bareditto pracinadalli"[1]

"That is how one should live on earth; this has been written down from the ancient times" : like a bird which gets into the courtyard, sits there a minute and the next moment flies away; like the shandy or the fair which gathers from different places and at the end of the day disperses in its several ways; like the children building a house out of mud who soon tire of the play, demolish it and go away; like the owner of the house who comes into his house for a night and gets away from it at day-break :

> "Pakshi angaladalli bandu kutante
> Aa kshanadalli hari hodante

[1] "हांगे इरबेकु संसारदल्लि
हयांगे बरेदित्तो प्राचीनदल्लि"

Nana pariyali sante neredante
Nana panthava hididu hodante
Makkaladi mane kattidante
Ata Sakendu alisi hodante
Vasatikaranu vasati kandante
Hottareddu horatu hodante"[1]

—words, imagery, assonances and internal rhymes, drift of meaning, the surpassing beauty and economy of expression and the final clarity of the utterance point to us what just a few lines can do as song and meaning and expression of attitude. This has ever been the way indicated and preferred in India. If life has continued to be crass for all this it but shows that the need for saying it is still ever there. Only lives like Purandaradasa's can communicate the experience and the meaning so clean and whole. That they have achieved is proof and example to mankind

A song on a lower level begins with "Khyati barada vastu eshtiddareno Hotana Koralalli mole iddareno"[2]—what's the earthly use of a life which doesn't distinguish itself and win name and fame? Of what use are the paps hanging down the neck of a goat? One could extend this to the lives of mortal men and say of what use is birth and wealth, learning and power, influence and possession, if

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[1] "पक्षि अंगलदल्लि बंदु कूतंते
आ क्षणदल्लि हारि होदन्ते
नाना परियलि संते नेरेदंते
नाना पंथव हिडिदु होदन्ते
मक्कलाडि मने कट्टिदन्ते
आट साकेन्दु अलिसि होदन्ते
वसतिकारनु वसति कडते
होत्तारेद्दु होरटु होदन्ते"

[2] "ख्याति बारद वस्तु एष्टिद्दरेनो
होतन कोरलल्लि मोले इद्दरेनो"

blessedness and faith and peace of the soul are not achieved? "What does it profit you if you gain the whole world and lose your soul?"—Or, as it is said—Atmarthe Prithivim Tyajet—i.e. give up a whole sovereignty over the earth if it conflicts with the good of your soul, was not uttered cheaply. It is an indication of values, scales and standards.

The last song with the words with which he might have passed away must have been something like the one which is stated to have been sung at Tirupati, when in the lone presence of his God he sat and sang a Suladi :

"Aa pada ananda Aanakha ananda"—[1]

"That foot is the source of joy and that nail on the finger; that leg, the thigh and waist; that navel and belly; that chest and shoulder; that neck and face, that hair on the head—they bring Ananda, asankhya Ananda—O Purandarasa Vitthala"—he seems to have said. Detailing other elements in the Suladi, he concludes :

"Jnana Vijnana sugandha sukhadeha anandavayya
Purandara Vitthalana avayavagalella"[2]

A similar description could have been the expression of the last stage in his life as contained in the one that ends with :

"Paripurna Jnana Purnananda Paripurna
Purandara Vitthala Vibhuve"[3]

and supremely in

"Pada nakha paripurna"[4]

This line speaks of the perfection in every part and every

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[1]"आा पाद आानन्द आा नख आानन्द"

[2]"ज्ञान विज्ञान सुगंध सुखदेह आानंदवय्य
पुरंदर विट्ठलन अवयवगलेल्ल"

[3]"परिपूर्णज्ञान पूर्णानन्द परिपूर्ण
पुरंदर विट्ठल विभुवे"

[4]"पाद नख परिपूर्ण"

limb of his body, in his mind and soul goes on with—see,

"Visvato mukhanagi visvato bahuvagi
visvato cakshuvagi Purandara vitthala
taniha kaniro"[1]

which brings to our mind the great words of the Veda. So, on—

Avava kaladalli avava desadalli
Srivallabha paripurna, bhuvallaba paripurna
Sakala lokadolobbane Purandara Vitthalane
Prabhuvu/Pada nakha paripurna..."[2]

The terms are part of the tradition of the country, but spoken by each such person in praise and enjoyment of quality and merit and in a state of vision, as actual presence are a confirmation in each age of what India held as truth and the highest experience.

The "Jo Jo—the lullaby—Suladi" begins with "Ambudhi Tottilagi Aaladeleyagi"[3]—with the ocean as the cradle, the banyan leaf as a resting-place, the Ananta or Adisesha as the bedding. O, Father, with the Vedas as the ropes, the Goddesses of Vedanta singing, kissing and rocking the cradle—what blessedness is it to gain a sight and experience like that! "You make the body, you get into it, you dispel the illusion that "I" am the body; "I" became the body; you became God. And the "Jati" of the song concludes "Ananta Muruti, Ananta kiruti/Ananta nabha, Purandara

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[1] "विश्वतो मुखनागि विश्वतो बाहुवागि
विश्वतो चक्षुवागि पुरंदर विट्ठल तानिह काणिरो"

[2] "आवाव कालदल्लि आवाव देशदल्लि
श्रीवल्लभ परिपूर्ण, भुवल्लभ परिपूर्ण
सकल लोकदोलोब्बने पुरंदर विट्ठलने
प्रभुवु/पाद नख परिपूर्ण"

[3] "अबुधि तोट्टिलागि आलदेलेयागि"

Vitthala".[1]

His sons and wife and others like Appannadasa must have been sitting around him, performing Bhajana in praise of the Lord, singing songs and Suladis like these when he got released from the mortal coils.

A Brindavan is built to enshrine him and the place is today sacred for the memory of the great Dasa who in his last days remained on the banks of the Tungabhadra near Vijayavitthala temple, telling us that life like his is not a myth or a legend and that Purandaradasa was but a man—self-fulfilling, self-fulfilled.

The goal and the way are open; for all men and women and for all time.

1. "अनत मूरुति, अनंत कीरुति/
अनंतनाम, पुरंदर विट्ठल"

APPENDIX A

"All the varieties of Talas are used though Capu and Jhampa are favourites. He employed the Adi Tala in greater proportion". The composer himself did not impose set Sangatis of a sophisticated nature on them. The type of composition which exhibits his mastery of the technique of music is the Suladi... In the Suladi, the theme is the same as in the Kirtana; but it has usually 7 or 8 distinct divisions with elaborate Sahitya, each of which is set to one of the classical Talas... The Suladi is a learned, elaborate and difficult piece giving a most comprehensive view of all the important sancaras. Sangeeta Saramrita of Tulajendra (c. 1735) cites numerous prayogas from the Suladis of Purandara as classic authority for Lakshana of Ragas described in the work. It is regrettable that the tradition of rendering Suladis is fast disappearing in Karnataka, the land of his birth. No rendering of it so far would be accepted by all as pristine till a learned body like the Music Academy goes into it.

Another type he uses is the Ugabhoga..."an extremely simple type of song, undefined into parts and almost nebulous in structure. The Tala is merely the Sarvalaghu; and the simplest phases of Raga go to make up its music."

APPENDIX B

"The seven Talalankaras were also composed by him. If the first line was learnt properly the remaining nine lines could be formed to make it complete[1]...

"All the ten avartas of an Alankara could be practised in three tempos by Anuloma and Viloma permutations and combinations. The first tempo (the first line), Madhyama (second and third lines), Druta (4, 5, 6, 7) Middle (8 and 9 lines) (and the first again in the tenth line). With the svaravali and jantivarise practice the Alankaras help to articulate the Akaras in all pitches and pitch relations"

[1]Prof. P. Sambamurthy . *Purandaradasa and His Contribution to Musical Pedagogy.*